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SWAHILI LANGUAGE HANDBOOK.

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THIS INTRODUCTION TO THE STRUCTURE AND BACKGROUND OF THE SWAHILI LANGUAGE WAS WRITTEN FOR THE NON-SPECIALIST. ALTHOUGH THE LINGUISTIC TERMINOLOGY USED IN THE DESCRIPTION OF THE LANGUAGE ASSUMES THE READER HAS HAD SOME TRAINING IN LINGUISTICS, THIS HANDBOOK PROVIDES BASIC LINGUISTIC AND SOCIOLINGUISTIC INFORMATION FOR STUDENTS OF AFRICAN CULTURE AND INTERMEDIATE OR ADVANCED SWAHILI LANGUAGE STUDENTS AS WELL AS FOR LINGUISTS. IN AN INTRODUCTION TO THE PRESENT LANGUAGE SITUATION, THIS HANDBOOK EXPLAINS THE DISTRIBUTION AND USE OF SWAHILI AS A LINGUA FRANCA, AS A PIDGIN, AND AS A MOTHER LANGUAGE AND EXPLAINS PRESENT USAGE THROUGH A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE LANGUAGE. DIALECTS OF SWAHILI ARE DISCUSSED AND RELATED LANGUAGES MENTIONED WHEN RELEVANT TO SWAHILI STRUCTURE. ALTHOUGH THE AUTHOR PLACES GREATEST EMPHASIS ON THE STRUCTURE OF THE LANGUAGE (PHONOLOGY, MORPHOLOGY, DERIVATION, INFLECTION, COMPLEX STRUCTURES, SYNTAX, AND VOCABULARY), HE INCLUDES CHAPTERS ON THE WRITING SYSTEM AND SWAHILI LITERATURE. OF SPECIAL INTEREST TO LANGUAGE TEACHERS IS A CHAPTER EXAMINING SPECIFIC POINTS OF CONTRAST BETWEEN SWAHILI AND ENGLISH. THIS HANDBOOK IS ALSO AVAILABLE FOR $4.50 FROM THE OFFICE OF INFORMATION AND PUBLICATIONS, CENTER FOR APPLIED LINGUISTICS, 1717 MASSACHUSETTS AVE., N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C., 20036. (JD)

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SWAHILI LANGUAGE HANDBOOK

EDGAR C. POLOMÉ

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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LANGUAGE HANDBOOK SERIES

FRANK A. RICE, GENERAL EDITOR

SWAHILI LANGUAGE HANDBOOK

EDGAR C. POLOMÉ

CENTER FOR APPLIED LINGUISTICS : 1967

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INTRODUCTION TO THE SERIES

Each volume in the Language Handbook Series is intended to provide an outline of the salient features of a particular language and a summary of the language situation and language problems of the country or area in which it is spoken. The scope of the series is the major modern languages of Asia and Africa.

It is hoped that the handbooks will prove useful to several different kinds of readers. One is the linguistic specialist who is not himself a specialist in the particular language treated, e.g., an Arabist who is interested in Swahili. Another is the student who is past the beginning stages of his study and who wishes to have a concise and condensed general picture of the language and its setting. A third reader is the area specialist, e.g., a sociologist, who wishes to know basic linguistic or sociolinguistic facts about the area. The handbooks are not designed to serve as instructional materials for the language in question, nor are they intended as a guide to local customs or cultural differences or the like.

There has been some attempt to hold the handbooks to a suggested general framework so as to give the series some uniformity, but in practice the individual studies vary considerably, both because of the differences of approach of the individual authors and the range and variety of problems of the individual languages. In general, each author in his own way treats the following matters: the language in its social and historical setting, its linguistic structure, its writing system (as appropriate), its points of contrast with English, and its literature. The description of the linguistic structure has provided the greatest problem in presentation. The authors have made a serious effort to avoid excessive use of technical linguistic terminology but nevertheless a certain amount of linguistic sophistication on the part of the reader must be assumed. Given the status of modern linguistics as a discipline it has not seemed wise to attempt to write in a popularized style.

The language handbooks represent a new kind of venture in the field of applied linguistics. It is probable that some portions or aspects of the various studies will be found inadequate or of little value, but the authors and the editor are confident that the series as a whole represents a useful step in the application of linguistic knowledge to practical language problems.

Frank A. Rice
Director, Office of Information and Publications
Center for Applied Linguistics

SWAHILI LANGUAGE HANDBOOK

PREFACE

THIS IS an introduction to Swahili for the non-specialist. It aims at supplying comprehensive information about the various aspects of the language with due regard to its cultural background. It does not intend to give an exhaustive description of the structure of Swahili, but rather tries to emphasize its most characteristic features. Though its data have essentially been elaborated from a synchronic point of view, a diachronic perspective has been introduced whenever it appeared to throw more light on complex descriptive problems, especially in the field of morphophonemics. The form of language described here is the spoken form used by cultivated Swahili speakers in Zanzibar and along the Mrima coast, though, occasionally, forms and patterns which only survive in the written literary language have been included in the description.

The model of Bantu grammar established by A.E. Meeussen in his Essai de Grammaire Rundi (Tervuren, 1959) was taken as a guide for the layout of my structural sketch. The Swahili material is based on the available current literature, grammatical descriptions and lexical data referred to in the bibliographical notes, as well as on personal field-notes gathered in Central and East Africa. For the collection of these data and the discussion on the relevant material, I am greatly indebted to a number of distinguished Swahili speakers, particularly Sheik Salum M. Kombo, of Dar es Salaam, representative for Tanganyika at the East African Swahili Committee; M. Hatibu, of Dar es Salaam, inspector-general of Swahili for Tanganyika; Sheik Shaaban S. Farsi, of Zanzibar, representative of Zanzibar at the East African Swahili Committee; Sheik Hamed Ali, luwali of Tanga; Gilbert Mwakalukwa, of Dar es Salaam; R. Mwajombe, of Peramiho (Songea); Ali Hassan Mwini, Ali Hassan Mohammed, Muhamed Bashrahil, and Abdulla Amor Ali, of Zanzibar; Frederic Kuziwa, and Charles Semwaiko, of Moheza;

Ali Omar Yahya, and Shihabuddin Chiraghdin, of Mombasa, as well as the numerous school-teachers whose speech I taped during a research trip in East Africa. I also wish to thank the experts on Swahili from whose advise I profited, especially H.E. Lambert (Nairobi), J.W.T. Allen (Kampala), Professor Lyndon Harries (London/Madison, Wisconsin), Professor W.H. Whiteley (Dar es Salaam/Madison, Wisconsin), Jan Knappert (Dar es Salaam/London), Graham Hyslop (Nairobi), and Peter Hill (Mpwapwa).

It is a further pleasure to express my sincere appreciation for the stimulating and constructive suggestions made by Lyndon Harries, A.E. Meeussen and W.P. Lehmann, who read this book in manuscript. Besides, I owe L. Harries special thanks for allowing me to make generous use of his authoritative book on Swahili poetry. My sincere gratitude also goes to W. Lehn, who was most helpful in solving problems arising from the interpretation of loanwords from Arabic, and to H. Der-Houssikian and G. Matumo, who were of constant assistance in editing the final text. Last but not least, I would like to express my sincere thanks to Frank A. Rice for the splendid editorial work he has done on the book.

Edgar C. Polomé
University of Texas
December 1963/May 1966

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

A considerable literature is available on Swahili. Most of it has been listed in *A Linguistic Bibliography of East Africa*, compiled by W.H. Whiteley and A.E. Gutkind, and published by the East African Swahili Committee (revised edition, Kampala, 1958). Valuable bibliographical data are also supplied by G. Van Bulck in *Les Recherches Linguistiques au Congo Belge* (Institut Royal Colonial Belge, Section des Sciences Morales et Politiques, Mémoires, Collection in 8°, Tome XVI; Brussels, 1940), pp. 689-700. The most recent and comprehensive survey of Swahili linguistic literature is the *Practical and Systematical Swahili Bibliography—Linguistics 1850-1963*, compiled by Marcel Van Spaandonck (Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1965).

Though the relevant literature concerning the various aspects of the language is mentioned in bibliographical notes following each chapter of this book, it may be useful to list here the main sources for further study of Swahili.

A. GRAMMARS

E.O. Ashton, *Swahili Grammar (Including Intonation)*, London, Longmans, 1944 (2nd ed., 1947; often reprinted). The best practical grammar available in English.

Alfons Loogman, *Swahili Grammar and Syntax*, Pittsburgh, Duquesne University Press, 1965 (Duquesne Studies, African Series, Vol. 1). A systematic classification of reliable linguistic data, with a not always successful attempt at originality of analysis.

C. Sacleux, *Grammaire swahilie*, Paris, Procure des Pères du Saint Esprit, 1909. An attempt at a comprehensive description of *kiUnguja* (Zanzibar dialect), completed by an excellent survey of the other dialects in his *Grammaire des dialectes swahilis* (Paris, 1909).

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Edward Steere, *A Handbook of the Swahili Language as Spoken at Zanzibar*, London, Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1870. The earliest extensive description of kiUnguja in English, a third, revised and enlarged edition of which was published by A.C. Madan (London, 1884), after the author's death. A fourth, thoroughly revised edition by A.B. Hellier was first published in 1943, and is still currently used as a reference grammar by students of Swahili.

B. DICTIONARIES

L. Krapf, *A Dictionary of the Swahili Language*, London, Trübner and Co., 1882. The first comprehensive Swahili-English lexicon, still most valuable for the cultural data supplied in connection with numerous lexical items.

Frederick Johnson, *A Standard Swahili-English Dictionary* [and] *A Standard English-Swahili Dictionary*, London, Oxford University Press, 1939. The best practical dictionaries available in English--to be supplemented by the more recent *Concise English-Swahili Dictionary* (*Kamusi ya Kiingereza-Kiswahili*), by R.A. Snoxall (London, Oxford University Press, 1958).

C. Sacleux, *Dictionnaire swahili-français*, 2 vols., Paris, Institut d'Ethnologie, 1939-41 (Université de Paris, Travaux et Mémoires de l'Institut d'Ethnologie, Vols. XXXVI-XXXVII). The most complete compilation of the Swahili lexicon and the only one supplying extensive information about dialectal forms; somewhat difficult to use on account of its aberrant spelling system.

E.N. Mjačina, *Suaxili-russkij slovar' (Kamusi ya kiSwahili-kiRusi)*, Moscow, Akademii Nauk SSSR, Institut etnografii, 1961, and:

Hildegard Höftmann, *Swaheli-Deutsches Wörterbuch*, Leipzig, VEB Verlag Enzyklopädie, 1963. Both of the foregoing are partly based on collections of lexical data from the current Swahili press and therefore contain a number of recent English loans not listed in the earlier dictionaries.

C. PRACTICAL HANDBOOKS (for English-speaking students)

E.W. Stevick, J.G. Mlela and F.N. Njenga, Swahili Basic Course, Washington, D.C., Department of State, Foreign Service Institute, 1963.

Ernest B. Haddon, Swahili Lessons, Cambridge, W. Heffer and Sons, 1955.

D.V. Perrott, Teach Yourself Swahili, London, English Universities Press, 1951.

D. SELECTED READINGS

C.G. Büttner, Anthologie aus der Suaheli Literatur. Berlin, 1894 (Beiträge zur Volks- und Völkerkunde, Vol. III). English revised version in preparation by Lyndon Harries.

C. Velten, Prosa und Poesie der Suaheli, Berlin, 1907.

E. Steere, Swahili Tales as Told by the Natives of Zanzibar, 2nd ed. by A. Werner, London, Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1922.

H.P. Blok, A Swahili Anthology, With Notes and Glossaries. Volume I: kiUnguja Texts (Dialect of Zanzibar), Leiden, A.W. Sijthoff, 1948.

Ernst Dammann, Dichtungen in der Lamu-Mundart des Suaheli, Hamburg, Friederichsen, de Gruyter and Co., 1940 (Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete der Auslandskunde, Band 51).

An interesting selection of poetry is given in Swahili Poetry, by Lyndon Harries (Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 1962). The same author re-edited a series of Swahili Prose Texts (London, Oxford University Press, 1965), which he published with an English translation and notes. Further references to Swahili literature are to be found in Chapter 5 below.

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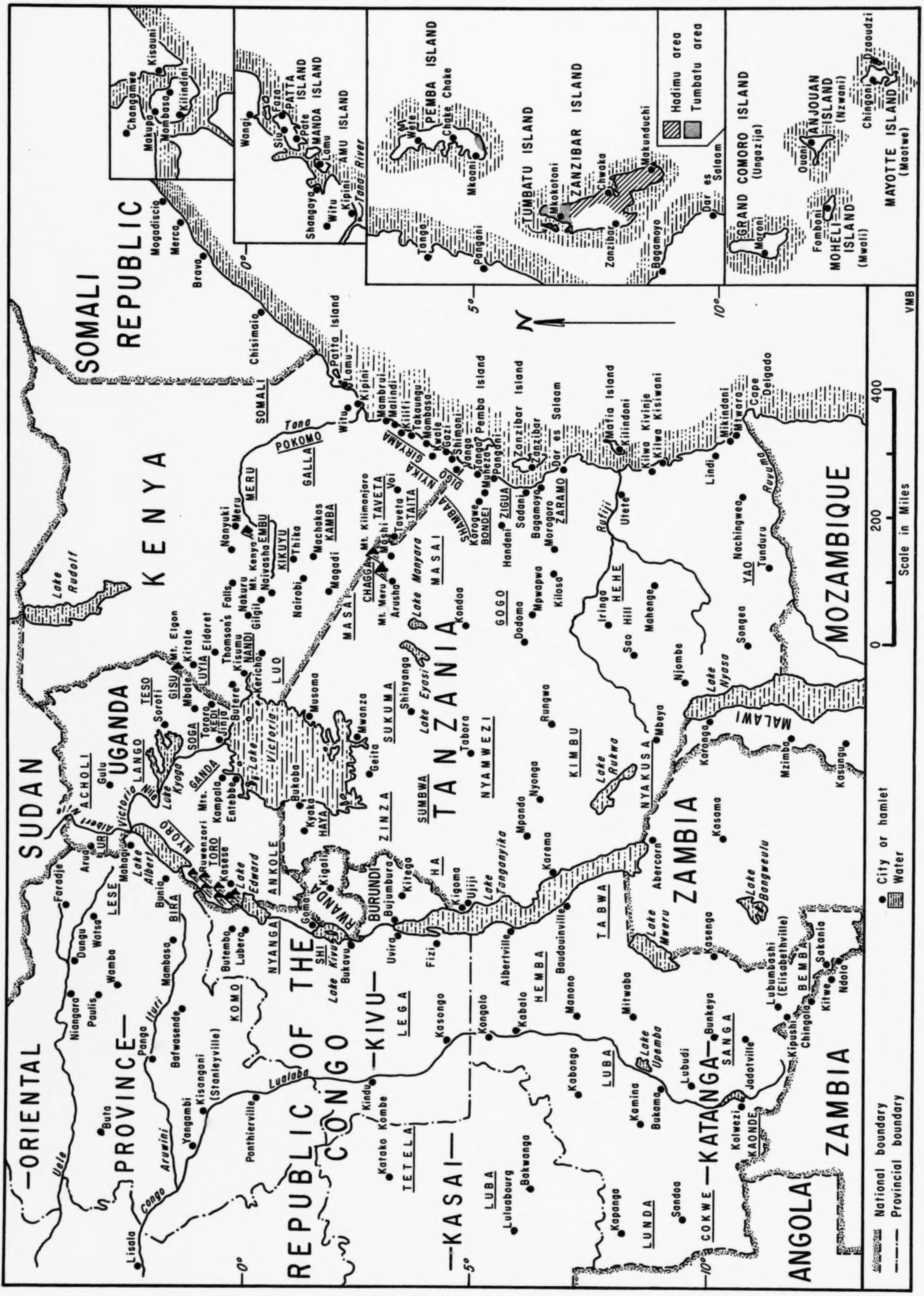
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MOZAMBIQUE
ANGOLA
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Lake Tanganyika
Lake Nyasa
Lake Rukwa
Lake Eyasi
Lake Manyara
Lake Kyoga
Lake Albert
Lake Edward
Lake Kivu
Lake Mweru
Lake Bangweulu
Lake Upemba
Tana
Rufiji
Ruvuma
Lualaba
Congo
Uele
Aruwimi
Ituri
Albert Nile
Victoria Nile
Mt. Elgon
Mt. Kenya
Mt. Kilimanjaro
Mt. Meru
Ruwenzori Mts.
PEMBA ISLAND
ZANZIBAR ISLAND
TUMBATU ISLAND
PATTA ISLAND
MANDA ISLAND
LAMU ISLAND
GRAND COMORO ISLAND (Ungazija)
ANJOUAN ISLAND (Nzwani)
MOHELI ISLAND (Mwali)
MAYOTTE ISLAND (Maotwe)
Hadimu area
Tumbatu area
City or hamlet
Water
National boundary
Provincial boundary
0 200 400
Scale in Miles
N
0°
5°
10°
VMB

1. THE LANGUAGE SITUATION

A. Where and by whom Swahili is spoken

When dealing with a language which is as widespread as Swahili as a means of intertribal communication and as a 'lingua franca', a basic distinction should be made between the speakers whose mother tongue is Swahili and those who resort to it as a second language for the most varied purposes. On the Kenya and Tanganyika coast and the neighboring islands, Swahili has been the mother tongue of the local African population for centuries; further inland as well as north and south in coastal areas, in Somalia as far as Mogadiscio, and in Portuguese East Africa as far as Mozambique[1], groups of Swahili speakers, using it as their mother tongue, are to be found. In the towns of East and Central Africa the presence of such groups is very often the result of a recent development by which detribalized Africans have resorted to the 'lingua franca' as their only means of communication, even on the level of everyday family life, so that their children are practically raised in what might be called 'creole Swahili'. Such is the situation in the Katangese mining district. Different again is the case of the Swahili speakers of the Maniema in the Congo or of the up-country towns along the ancient routes of the slave trade, where the descendants of the Africans closely associated with this activity have settled down and preserved the old trade language, together with Islam, as cultural features distinguishing them from the neighboring Bantu. It stands to reason that such a situation has brought about a rather complex dialectal repartition of Swahili, but the joint effort of the administration and the educational authorities has led to the establishment of a common standard of written Swahili, which the East African Swahili Committee (formerly Interterritorial Language Committee, founded in 1930) tried to promote and constantly improve.

THE LANGUAGE SITUATION

The present situation along the coast and in Zanzibar may be sketched as follows: although Arabic had regained higher prestige with the founding of the Muslim Academy and the upsurge of Arab nationalism, only very few families would resort to it for colloquial conversation in everyday life, and these remnants of current usage of Arabic are likely to have disappeared in the turmoil of the revolution. Similarly, while it was used on ceremonial occasions as the court language in Zanzibar, Arabic has now been completely eliminated from public life in the former Sultanate. Even the supplement in Arabic script of the information bulletin of the Zanzibar government is no longer published. Nevertheless, the greater part of the Moslems still know whatever Arabic is indispensable for the performance of their religious duties, but the language of domestic life, everyday business and administration is Swahili. Swahili is also the main language of the press and radio, as well as the regular medium of the curriculum on the primary level, besides being taught as a subject on the secondary level, where English becomes the medium of instruction.

Though Swahili is the native language of the Mrima coast and the adjacent islands, with English and--to a lesser degree--Arabic competing with it only in definite cultural contexts, the situation changes as one moves inland. In Tanganyika, the multiplicity of tribal groups with languages of their own has made a planned language policy necessary. Already under German administration the use of Swahili was widely encouraged by the colonial power, and under British rule this policy was continued and developed in the field of education.[2] Swahili is indeed the language of instruction at a very early stage in all schools and remains a subject in the curriculum long after English has been substituted for it as a medium. Moreover, since independence, it has been accepted as the national language of Tanganyika, both because it had the outstanding advantages over the tribal vernaculars of being free from troublesome regionalistic connotations in a country where only one Bantu group--the Sukuma--

numbers about a million people, and of being spoken and understood by large numbers of people of the most varied tribal origin all over the country. For these people, the only practical means for communication with non-tribesmen is Swahili, which accounts for its increasing importance in urban communities where such social intercourse is considerably larger than in rural areas. Townspeople who have married inside their tribe are likely to use their own vernacular at home and with friends and next of kin, but in personal communication with other fellow Africans, they will use Swahili; any command of English they may have will be used as a means to improve their social status. Though English and Swahili may compete in public mass media, the average African will find it easier to listen to a broadcast or to read a paper in Swahili, so that programs in this language enjoy a larger audience, and Swahili papers have a wider circulation and an even higher number of readers than English papers, since papers are usually passed on or read aloud to friends and relatives.

Besides, educated people tend to resort more and more to Swahili as their first language and even to forget their own native tongue to such an extent that primary school teachers in such distant places as Peramiho, near Songea, in the Southern province, may no longer be able to express themselves properly in the Bantu vernacular they spoke in their youth. With the increasing spread of education it is therefore probable that Swahili will more or less quickly oust the lesser Bantu dialects so that there will be a growing number of cases like that of Morogoro, where even the rural Ruguru dialect, which late 19th century records described as the only currently used local language, is rapidly deteriotating and practically threatened with disappearance. Any measure which is likely to spread Swahili is indeed officially encouraged, especially since the merger of the republic of Tanganyika with the former sultanate of Zanzibar[3]. Already before the creation of Tanzania, a commission had been at work, translating the whole corpus of Tanganyika laws into Swahili[4]. More recently, the University College of Dar es Salaam established an Institute of Swahili Research (Chuo cha Uchunguzi katika Lugha ya Kiswahili), whose first major task will be to compile a comprehensive reference dictionary of the language.

In Kenya, the situation is more complex: whereas Tanganyika counts dozens of tribes, with only very few numerically quite important ones, and even has inland communities round Tabora, Ujiji and Mwanza whose mother tongue is Swahili as a result of the ivory and slave trade with the coast, Kenya has several nationalistically minded tribes with their own language and cultural background. Some of these are not Bantu and display strongly antagonistic feelings towards the other groups, e.g., the Masai; among the Bantu, there has long been a definite trend to favor the tribal language in education, administration and public mass media. In the Kikuyu linguistic area, the local vernacular (Gikuyu or Kamba) is still used in primary education; Kikuyu is moreover widely used beside Swahili in administration; it has a considerable literature and several newspapers, and until recently various radio programs were broadcast in the language. Similarly, during the later years of British rule, Luo and a few other languages were recognized as alternatives for Swahili in administration and primary education in other parts of the territory, and broadcasts in these languages as well as the publication of vernacular papers confirmed the tendency to resort more and more to the local tribal language instead of Swahili. Though at one time it was even considered threatened with progressive disappearance from the curriculum, Swahili was still taught in up-country primary schools, and in spite of the association of its pidgin-dialect--kiSettla--with European occupation in the White Highlands, the very fact that it was 'nobody's language' made it a useful tool for communication between antagonistic groups.

As a consequence of this valuable function of Swahili, there has been a considerable change in the official attitude towards Swahili shortly before independence, the more so as the resolute attitude of Tanganyika to maintain Swahili as its national language enhanced the prestige of the 'lingua franca' in the framework of the constructive efforts then initiated towards an East African Federation. Though Kenya is apparently still wavering as to its final decision about the place of Swahili in education--because English has already been experimentally introduced as the exclusive medium from the very beginning in a number of primary schools in the Nairobi and Mombasa areas--the future of Swahili in Kenya seems much brighter now than a decade ago[5]. It is the only African language currently used by the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation; the trade unions have adopted it in their newspapers and debates[6]; political speeches to the population are usually delivered in Swahili--on occasion alongside the major local vernacular. This new trend is probably a consequence of the rapidly growing urbanization of Kenya: for immigrants from various parts of the country, making acquaintances and having any social intercourse outside their own narrow tribal context would be practically impossible without Swahili in towns like Nairobi. To prevent children from suffering considerably in their education from the switch from their tribal language to Swahili when coming to town, pressure has been building up in favor of an expansion of Swahili in education, even in rural areas. The only alternative would be to teach English everywhere, but a sufficient number of trained teachers is in no way available for this purpose.

As for daily usage, the situation for the urban African differs from that of Tanganyika only insofar as the educated African in up-country Kenya will usually maintain his tribal vernacular at home and with kinsmen, and use Swahili with other Africans and English in social intercourse in connection with higher status. Along the coast, the situation is of course different: Swahili prevails on all levels, being even the official language of the regional assembly.

In Uganda, where the tribal nationalistic tendencies have prevailed, Swahili has practically been ousted from education, except for the police. This situation is rather paradoxical, because the fact that the law-enforcement body had to resort to Swahili proves that it is the only suitable language for intertribal communication in the very heart of the kingdom of the Kabaka, in spite of the considerable efforts made by the *baGanda* to make *luGanda* the national language of the country. In recent years, a more realistic view of the linguistic situation seems to have evolved, and the future of Swahili in education and other aspects of cultural life looks brighter. As a matter of fact, in Makerere College, which was, until the creation of the University College of Dar es Salaam in 1961, the only institution of higher learning with an arts curriculum in East Africa, students from all over the area currently use Swahili as well as English for the purpose of communication and, at one time, even organized a very active *Society for the Propagation of Swahili*. Since 1963, the University College has offered a comprehensive program in African Studies, in which linguistic study is exclusively focussed on Swahili.

In urban communities, the use of Swahili as a trade language has also been reinforced from rather unexpected quarters with the increasing influence of the Indian community in trade life. The Indian shopkeepers, although they continue to speak exclusively modern Indic languages (e.g., Gujrati) at home, resort to Swahili for commercial relations with their African patrons and have developed a special type of Swahili trade dialect called *kiSwahili cha kiHindi*.

In Burundi, the great bulk of the Swahili speakers are gathered in the township of BuYenzi in Bujumbura, where they form a close Moslem community of about 12,000; there are also some scattered groups in villages along Lake Tanganyika. Swahili is also used as second language in intertribal communication in the town of Usumbura, but it is hardly known elsewhere. Under Belgian rule, only *kiRundi* was used, along with French and Dutch, in administrative documents and in education[7]; Swahili was taught in some town schools attended by non-BaRundi Africans; *liNgala* was the language of the army as in the Congo.

At present, Swahili is completely ousted from education in Burundi, and kiRundi is imposed as the medium in the primary schools, even in those districts of Bujumbura where 95 per cent of the school children do not know a word of kiRundi but generally use Swahili.

In the Congo, Swahili is the 'lingua franca' of the east, from the Uele down to the Katanga mining district; it had official status as one of the four Bantu languages commonly used in administration in the Belgian colonial period, but in recent years it has been progressively ousted from education in favor of French, like the other Bantu vernaculars. However, some bush-schools still use it today as medium in early primary education. The linguistic status of Swahili varies very much from area to area; in the northeast and along the Lualaba down to Stanleyville it is widely used in towns, and some communities of descendants of the African aides of important Arab slave-traders, like Tippu Tip, still survive, having clung to Islam and Swahili through generations. In the southeast on the semi-arid Katangese plateau, which was practically devoid of population before the arrival of European colonists, the development of the copper industry, creating a constant appeal for more immigrant labor, gave rise to a situation where the multiracial inhabitants of booming towns could resort to no other language than the trade language as a means of communication. This 'lingua franca' was Swahili, which had been introduced from the east by a group of former members of Arab trade caravans--well-armed adventurers of Sumbwa origin--who seized power in a poorly defended territory at the disputed outskirts of the Lunda and the Luba 'empires' in the second half of the 19th century. Their leader, Msiri, established his seat in Bunkeya in the valley of a tributary of the Lufira, and conquered a large territory with the help of some Swahilis from the coast of whom he later rid himself. When European visitors came to his court, he used to greet them in fluent Swahili, and after his death the Belgians kept up the usage of Swahili in the area by recruiting their police force in the Zanzibar area and preserving Swahili as the language of the army until the First World War. As the mines prospered, numerous workers also came from areas where Swahili was the trade language, and by and by this contact vernacular became creolized in Elisabethville, Jadotville, Kolwezi and other towns, where a growing part of the population is completely detribalized and does not know any language but Katanga Swahili. As regards the use of languages in these towns, nowadays the bulk of the population still preserves strong links with its tribal origins, and at home the tribal vernacular is usually spoken; but the children live in close contact with the offspring of neighbors belonging to widely different tribes, whose languages are not mutually intelligible. In their games and talking they resort almost exclusively to whatever Swahili they have picked up, and they more than their parents are likely to marry later on outside their tribe and to raise families using Swahili at home. Actually, in all social intercourse outside of strictly tribal associations, Swahili is the only language used besides French, which is more a symbol of status. A Swahili conversation may be interspersed with some French phrases for the purpose of 'showing off', but the number of Africans having a sufficient command of French to use it currently in daily conversation remains very limited. The prospects for Swahili in these urban communities are accordingly very bright.

Widespread as it is, Swahili may often be heard outside its area of expansion since many Africans have come in contact with it, e.g., the Rhodesians sometimes employed as migrant labor in the Katangese mines or the Congolese of various provinces who have stayed for a while in the east.

B. History

Though the history of the penetration of Swahili from the coast inland practically coincides with that of Arab trade towards Central Africa, the origin of the language itself remains disputed. It is generally accepted that its name is a modified form of Arabic *sawāḥil*, plural of *sāḥil* 'coast', but there is no unquestionable evidence as to the date of the formation of the coastal trade language from which Swahili ultimately developed. The first reference to definite commercial relations between Arabia and the east coast of Africa dates back to the end of the 1st century A.D., when the compiler of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* mentions several place names on the trade route, including the island of Menouthias (Pemba or Zanzibar?) and Rhapta 'the last market town of the Azanian mainland'. The description of the commodities available there corresponds to the expected exports of the Tanganyika coast; the inhabitants--'remarkable for their stature'--may, for all we know, have already been Bantu. In any case, the text states, 'the Arab captains and agents...are familiar with the natives and intermarry with them, and...*understand their language*.' Unfortunately, neither the anonymous Greek mariner, nor Claudius Ptolemy in his confirmation of these data, quotes any word of this language. A later source--Cosmas, an Egyptian monk who travelled to India in the 6th century--calls the area *Zingion*, and Arab sources state that the slaves imported from East Africa to the Caliphate to work in the saltpeter mines of the lower Euphrates were called *Zanj*. This word is of Iranian origin and connected with Avestan *zanga* 'ankle'; it refers to a fertility dance, still practiced with bells around the ankles by the Shirazi women of the coast, known as *msanja* and assumed to be of Persian origin. *Zanj* also survives in the name *Zanzibar*. It might therefore point to a mixed Persian and Arab origin of the first traders settled along the east coast of Africa.

However, the earliest recorded Arab settlement there is said to have been founded on the island of Pate in 680 A.D., and in the following centuries such towns as Lamu, Malindi, Mombasa and Kilwa were founded and reached a high level of culture and prosperity; the medieval Arab records, however, give no clue to the origin of the settlers, though later sources claim that 'the first of the people of Lamu were Arabs who came there from

Damascus in Syria' and that Hārūn al-Rashīd, hearing of the cities in Africa, 'was pleased to call people and give them much wealth wherewith he sent them to build houses on the coast. The people he sent were Persians.' Unfortunately this information is quite unreliable, and only Chinese sources supply us with better data for this early period. They contain an accurate picture of the Masai and mention the activity of Persian merchants and Arab raiders in the area. Arab travellers, from the 10th century on, give further details: Masʿudi (d. 956) mentions the kings of Zanj as named *flīmī* or *waklīmī*, which appears to be a corruption of the texts for Swahili *mfalme*, plural *wafalme*. If correct, this would be the earliest evidence of Swahili.

The *Kilwa Chronicle*, of which Arabic, Portuguese and Swahili versions have been preserved, is our main source for the medieval history of the area; it describes the settlement of Kilwa, from 957 till 1131, and attributes the origin of its founders to Shiraz--a statement which merely points to the prestige of 'Shirazi merchants' and does not necessarily imply Persian origin. The first king of the land, Sulṭān ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusain, was nicknamed Nguo Nyingi, which means 'many clothes' in Swahili; his son, Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī was known as Mkoma Watu, presumably a compound noun meaning 'killer of men' and belonging to the stem of the verb *kukoma* 'to kill', appearing in the older literature. These nicknames appearing in the Arabic text have been interpreted as evidence that Swahili must already have been current in the 10th century, but for all we know they might as well have belonged to the coastal Bantu dialects which served as a basis for the development of the trade language.

Very soon Kilwa rose to great prosperity, especially after it seized the monopoly of the gold trade of Sofala in the 12th century, and a string of Arab colonies developed all along the coast, where intermarriage with the rather submissive natives produced the Swahili people, sharing the faith and, at various levels, the culture of the Arabs, and fighting back the more independently-minded upland tribes attacking their settlements. It must have been in those days that the Swahili language took its proper shape, based on the Bantu structure of the local vernaculars but enriched in its vocabulary by the influx of innumerable items of culture connected with Muslim civilization. For lack of documentary evidence, it is impossible to retrace its development: early links with Persia are implied by the active commercial relations between the Persian Gulf and the east coast of Africa, but in spite of the assumed Shirazi origin of the founder of Kilwa and of the claims of Shirazi ancestry for the tribal forbears of the Tumbatu people, it is improbable that a very large Persian colonization could have taken place of which Persian historians have kept no record. Early Persian loan-words in Swahili may have been introduced through Arabic, as the Arab settlers from Oman and Hadramaut had been strongly influenced by Persian elements. In any case, if there ever was a Persian component in the population from which the waSwahili arose, it was soon blended with the Arab and African patterns of culture. In the days when trading activity was expanding inland, it was carried on only by Arabs, whose policy was characterized by exclusively commercial motivation: they never attempted to explore the upland country systematically or to propagate their faith in the interior; their sole aim was to barter textiles, beads and metalwork for ivory, gold, slaves and exportable native produce. Thus, the contact between the coastal waSwahili of their trade caravans and the inland tribes remained confined to commercial relations, in the course of which a pidgin-dialect of their language spread as a 'lingua franca' along the trade-routes. With the slow movements of the caravans and their interruption during the rainy season, the traders had to stop for prolonged periods at convenient locations far inland. These places became permanent settlements where local and regional business was transacted and goods stored up; from a linguistic point of view, they were new centers of dispersion of the contact vernacular.[8]

In any event, at the time of the arrival of the Portuguese in the second half of the 15th century, Swahili already appears to have been a well-established language, and two centuries of

Portuguese domination have only left lexicological traces in it. About the middle of the 17th century the Imam of Oman, who had driven the Portuguese out of their last stronghold, Mascat, decided to attack them in East Africa as well, and after several years of indecisive fighting the Portuguese were ejected from the Swahili area. This led to a new period of Arab domination, with further penetration inland accompanying the tremendous development of the slave trade, and culminating during the reign of Seyyid Said, who made Zanzibar the commercial metropolis of East Africa and developed the clove plantations on the islands. Numerous Arab, Persian, and Indian as well as European and American merchants built store-houses and opened offices in his capital, while from Bagamoyo, across the twenty-five-mile-wide channel on the mainland, important caravan routes penetrated more deeply into Africa. There Seyyid Said had established important fortified outposts at Kilwa and Kazeh (now Tabora) on the road to Lake Tanganyika, where the harbour of Ujiji was improved; he had also built forts all along the caravan road from Kilwa to Lake Nyasa and placed a garrison at Mwanza on the southeast shore of Lake Victoria. Arab settlements prospered all over Tanganyika and Kenya as far north as the southern part of Somaliland, and Arab traders practically got control of important inland tribes like the waGogo in the region of Dodoma, the waShambaa in the Lushoto area, the waNyamwezi around Tabora, etc. The expansion of this trade empire was the decisive step in the spread of Swahili over wide territories, and when European intervention put the control of the same areas into German and British hands, the colonial powers actually penetrated inland and asserted their power along the same roads and with recourse to the same 'lingua' franca. Nowadays, with growing urbanization, the nuclei of Swahili-speakers in the old marketplaces along the trade route have grown into important groups whose language remains the main vehicle of culture and education for the bulk of the African population. The influence of English, with the new institutions and products of civilization brought in by the

British, has considerably enlarged the vocabulary, stuffing it with innumerable loans, but Swahili remains, as it did when it was similarly exposed to overwhelming Arabic influence, a strictly Bantu language in its structure.

C. Linguistic classification

Swahili is a Bantu language, i.e., it belongs to the vast family of languages spoken south of a line stretching from the slopes of Mount Cameroun to the northern shores of Lake Victoria, and thence towards the coast, with a wedge southward into Masai territory and a bulge northward to include the Meru on the eastern slopes of Mount Kenya. The languages belonging to this group are closely related and show characteristic structural features: there are only a limited number of functional contrasts in the vowel system, so that an important dialectal boundary is marked by the presence of five versus seven vowel phonemes; the consonant system is more complex, but the high number of consonant phonemes in the southern group (Zulu, Xhosa, Shona, etc.) is apparently due to overlapping with the phonemic system of Khoi-San languages whose speakers were brought into subjection and ultimately absorbed by the Bantu invaders; the proto-Bantu system seems to have been characterized by the absence of fricatives, at least on the phonemic level, palatalization and other phonetic changes producing sibilants or clusters with sibilants in various positions. The only distinctive feature creating a functional contrast throughout the four orders of articulation--labial, alveolar, palatal, and velar--appears to be voice; in the first three orders a contrast between nasal and non-nasal is also phonemically relevant. Hence the consonant system of proto-Bantu would appear as follows:

		Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar
Stops	voiceless	/p/	/t/	/c/	/k/
	voiced	/b/	/d/	/j/	/g/
Nasals	(voiced)	/m/	/n/	/ɲ/	

As a rule, the Bantu languages are tone languages, i.e., differences in pitch on the various syllables are morphologically and semantically relevant in such a way that the difference in pitch contour is the only marker of a difference in tense, mode or aspect, or the sole distinction between two unrelated lexical items, e.g., loNkundo (loMongo) /ńkolakí/ 'I took' (today) : /ńkolákí/ 'I took' (yesterday or before), where the contrast between high and low pitch on the first syllable of the suffix {akí} indicates at what distance in the past the process of taking took place; ciLuba /cínú/ 'mortar' : /cínu/ 'knee'; etc. Swahili has, however, lost this very important characteristic of Bantu, and this loss may be one of the most significant consequences of its presumable original development from a 'dialanguage'[9]. As regards syllabification, Bantu is characterized by the final position of the syllable peak, i.e., all syllables end in a vowel; there are no falling diphthongs; the structure of the syllable is basically obstruent-plus-vowel, but the obstruent is liable to be followed by the non-syllabic allophone of the high and mid-high vowel phonemes or preceded by a nasal, e.g., Bantu */kianga/ → Swahili *(u)shanga* 'bead', with [š] from /ki/ before /V/. In word initial position, *nasal + obstruent + vowel* is however actualized as syllabic nasal followed by a syllable boundary and obstruent plus vowel, e.g., Bantu */nke/ → Swahili *nchi* ['n̩|tšɪ] 'country'.

As regards morphemic structure, the Bantu root is usually of the type CVC (C = any consonant, V = any vowel). A 'final' vowel is added to the root in verbal stems and nominal derivation. Some roots show the non-syllabic allophones of the high and mid-high vowel phonemes after the first consonant, e.g., Bantu */koadɛ/ → Swahili *kwale* 'partridge', or a nasal before the second consonant, e.g., Bantu */kinda/ → Swahili *shinda* 'exceed, overcome' (with [š] from /k/ before /i/). Derivational processes are practically restricted to suffixation; the inflectional affixes--indicating class, number, person, tense, etc.--appear as a rule as prefixes. Characteristic are the prefixes used to indicate the class to which nouns belong; such classifiers are also prefixed to every word referring to or grammatically or syntactically connected with the noun, but they often appear under two distinct forms: only the adjectives and numerals take the same prefix-forms as the noun, whereas the pronominal concords may assume a completely different form. Since these forms are in complementary distribution, they may be considered as allomorphs of the class-morphemes, e.g., Swahili

mishale mirefu mitano ya mwindaji ilianguka
arrows - long - five - of - hunter - (they) fell down

in which *mi*- is the plural prefix of the class of objects to which -*shale* 'arrow' belongs and *i*- the corresponding pronominal prefix, used with the connective particle -*a* (*i* + *a* → *ya*) before the noun *mwindaji* to indicate the possessor, and appearing before the tense-marker -*li*- in the verbal complex *ilianguka* as a reference to its subject. The original organization of the Bantu prefix-system seems to be based on a semantic classification, which might be reconstructed according to Fig. 1 on page 16. In this tabulation, C. Meinhof's reconstruction of the proto-Bantu class-system has been followed rather closely. There is, however, some doubt as to the correctness of the assumption of the existence of some prefixes like {go}, {ga}, and {gi} in the proto-language, as they are clearly represented only in limited areas of the Bantu linguistic territory. Thus, proto-Bantu *{ga} might well be no more than an extrapolation into the proto-language of the luGanda plural of the 'derogatory' {go}, e. g., *oguntu* 'big and clumsy thing', plural *agantu*. Similarly, {gi} might reflect a secondary dialectal development in the eastern group of Bantu languages to which Swahili belongs. Its reflexes can be found in 'augmentatives' in Shona (e.g., *mukadzi* 'woman': *zigadzi* 'huge woman'), Venda (e.g., *kholomo* 'beast': *ḓikolomo* 'huge beast'), Shambala (e.g., *mutí* 'tree': *zití* 'big tree') and a number of other languages in eastern Africa (Pokomo, Zigua, etc.).

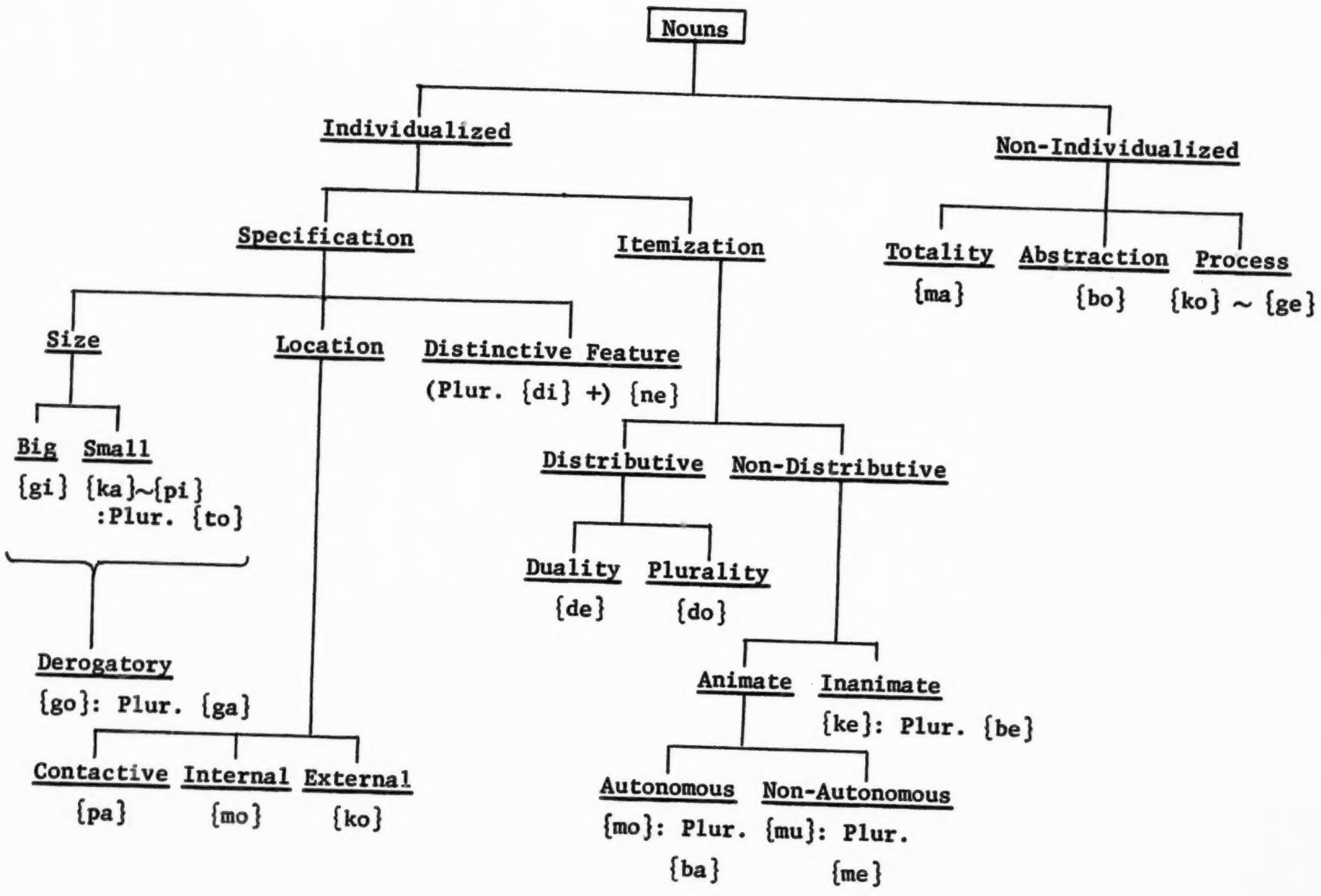
Nouns
Individualized
Non-Individualized
Specification
Itemization
Totality
{ma}
Abstraction
{bo}
Process
{ko} ~ {ge}
Size
Location
Distinctive Feature
(Plur. {di} +) {ne}
Big
{gi}
Small
{ka}~{pi}
:Plur. {to}
Derogatory
{go}: Plur. {ga}
Contactive
{pa}
Internal
{mo}
External
{ko}
Distributive
Non-Distributive
Duality
{de}
Plurality
{do}
Animate
Inanimate
{ke}: Plur. {be}
Autonomous
{mo}: Plur. {ba}
Non-Autonomous
{mu}: Plur. {me}

Fig. 1

However, several classes may be lost and blurred in the individual languages so that the system sometimes appears to be widely disrupted, e.g., in Swahili, where the prefixes {bo} and {do} have fallen together in *u*-, so that *uvivu* 'idleness, laziness' (: *vivu* 'indolent, slow') and *udevu* 'hair (of the beard)' (: *madevu* 'beard', as 'one of many') belong to the same class. Similarly, {ka} has been replaced by {ke} in Swahili diminutives; moreover, in this class, {gi} functions as a morpheme indicating merely 'size', e.g., *mtu* 'person' : *kijitu* 'dwarf' : *jitu* 'giant'; *nyoka* 'snake' : *kijoka* 'small snake' : *joka* 'large snake', etc.

The verbal system is complex: the verbal root itself is invariable, but through the agglutination of various components the morphemic structure functioning as a verb may contain, e.g., a negative prefix; a pronominal concord indicating the class, person, and number of the subject; a tense-marker; another pronominal concord indicating the class, person, and number of the (direct or indirect) object; the verbal root; one or more suffixes of verbal derivation specifying the 'diathetic'[10] and aspectual connotations of the process described by the verbal root; and a final inflectional suffix marking the mood, e.g., Swahili *hatutampenyezea* (*fedha*), 'we will not slip (money into his hand)', containing the negative prefix *ha*-, the pronominal prefix *tu*- of the first person plural, the tense-marker of the future -*ta*-, the (indirect) object pronominal prefix -*m*-, the verbal root *peny*- 'penetrate into' (implying an effort), the complex causative suffix -*ez*-, the applicative suffix -*e*-, and the final suffix -*a* of the indicative mood.

Verbal derivation is often cumulative, i.e., several suffixes are added to the root in a specific order, each of them adding a semantic or aspectual connotation to its basic meaning, e.g., Swahili *onyeshewa* 'have (something) shown to (someone)', containing the verbal root -*on*- 'see' plus the causative suffix -*y*- and the causative of the stative -*esh*- (i.e., *-*ek*- + -*y*-), followed by the applicative suffix -*e*-, the passive suffix -*w*-, and the final suffix -*a* of the indicative mood. The conjugation contains a considerably larger number of tenses than do the Indo-European languages: aspect is especially stressed; a distinct negative conjugation widely parallels the affirmative conjugation; distinct paradigms characterize the 'relative' conjugation, depending on whether the English relative pronoun is subject or object. There is, indeed, no specific relative pronoun in Bantu, and in many Bantu languages a special conjugation is used to express such a syntactic relation as the connection of a dependent verb to a substantive in the main clause, e.g., Swahili *masikio yatakayosikia* 'the ears that will hear' (-*yo*-, composed of the pronominal concord *ya* plus the reference particle -*o*-, corresponds to the English relative pronoun); *nguo alizozinunua* 'the clothes which he purchased' (when the relative pronoun is object, the pronominal concord is used twice; first, with the reference particle; then again in the object slot, immediately before the verbal stem).

The lexicon of Bantu is very poor in adjectives and one of the most common substitutes for them is the use of the connective particle with a substantive, e.g., *kiti cha mti*, literally 'chair of wood' for 'wooden chair'.

Typically Bantu in the field of syntax is the word order in noun phrases containing a noun, a possessive adjective, and a qualifier, e.g., *masikio yenu makubwa* 'your large ears'; characteristic also is the use of locatives in the subject slot of the verbal complex, e.g., *humu chumbani mmelala bwana Fulani*, literally 'in here in this room is asleep Mr. So-and-So' (-*mu* in *humu* is the locative concord corresponding to the locative particle -*ni* suffixed to *chumba* 'room', and *m*- in the verbal form is the corresponding pronominal subject concord).

With other African languages, Bantu shares the use of descriptive words--called ideophones--which do not pattern within the framework of standard morphemics and show aberrant features on the phonological and phonemic level as well, e.g., Swahili *kunuka fee* or *mff* 'to emit an unpleasant odor'.

D. Dialects

When dealing with Swahili dialects, a clear distinction must be made between the coastal and island dialects of the area where Swahili developed and is basically the first language of the bulk of the population, and the inland dialects of the region where it is actually the second language of the majority of the population, although it has developed creolized forms spoken by minorities of various sizes.

Some dialects have a long literary tradition; others have died out and are only known through earlier writings. It has been assumed that much of the variation occurring in them is due to differences in the local Bantu languages which form the substratum of Swahili, but the variations in usage and the phonological differentiation between dialectal pronunciations are of such types as one would normally expect over such a wide area, e.g., Bantu */c/ is reflected as a voiceless postalveolar affricate [t̲š] in kiUnguja, but as a dental stop [t̪] or [t̪h] in kiMvit̲a, namely in Swahili *chini* 'below', *nchi* 'country', *chonga* 'carve, cut to shape', *chuja* 'filter, strain', etc. Alternate class-prefixes are used in the plural, e.g., Mombasa *maguu* 'legs' : Zanzibar *miguu*; in this case, the kiMvit̲a dialect merely maintains the original Bantu use of the prefix {ma} as plural nominal concord for parts of the body in pairs (Swahili *macho* 'eyes', *mabega* 'shoulders', *magoti* 'knees', etc.), whereas kiUnguja innovates by shifting to the use of the Bantu non-autonomous animate 'pluralizer' {me}.

The main coastal and island dialects, from north to south, are:

1. *Bravanese*, referred to as *ciMiini* by its native speakers, the residents of Brava (Barawa), halfway between Mogadiscio and Chisimaio in Somalia. One of its most interesting divergent features is the grammatical function of tone in the verb inflection.[11]
2. *Bajuni*, spoken by the Swahili communities scattered further south along the coast, mainly north of Pate, up to Fuma and

Chisimaio (Kismayu). The BaJuni are called Gunya by the Swahili, and their dialect is also known under the name *tikuu* ('from the big country').[12] It is characterized by the affrication of Bantu */t/ to postalveolar [t̲š], e.g., in *chachu* for *tatu* 'three', *mchi* for *mti* 'tree', *p'eche* for *pete* 'ring', etc., and other aberrant treatments of the Bantu obstruents, such as the voiced dental fricative [ð] instead of Swahili [z] for Bantu */d/ before /i/, e.g., in *idhiva* 'milk' (for [*ma*]*ziwa*)--a feature it shares with Pate and Siu.

3. *Pate*, spoken on Patta (Pate Island).
4. *Siu*, spoken in Siu, a village along a creek on Pate Island.
5. *Amu*, spoken on Lamu Island.

Though Pate, Siu and Amu are usually considered separate dialects, there is little difference between them. Amu is essentially the dialect of poetry,[13] though the use of Arabic script often makes it difficult to recognize definite dialectal features on the phonological level.[14] Siu, which is also used occasionally in poetry,[15] shares *kuchuma* for *kutuma* 'to send' with Bajuni, but *kupija* for *kupiga* 'to beat, strike' with Pate and Amu, [dʲ] for /g/ being occasionally heard in Mvit̲a as well. Actually, while Pate, Amu, and Siu have a considerable number of phonological and morphological features in common with Mvit̲a, distinguishing them from the Southern dialects,[16] they also show dialectal characteristics of their own, e.g.:

a. Loss of Bantu */d/ → Swahili /l/ ~ /r/ in intervocalic position, e.g., *chua* for *chura* 'frog', *kae* for *kale* 'past', *kueta* for *kuleta* 'to bring', etc.

b. Swahili /ɟ/ realized as a palatal semivowel [j] instead of the voiced palatal implosive stop [ɟ] and consequently spelled with -*y*- in *moya* 'one', *mayani* 'leaves', *kuya* 'to come', etc., instead of *moja*, *majani*, *kuja*, etc.

c. Bantu */bi/ reflected by /zi/ instead of /vi/, e.g., *mwizi* 'thief' for *mwivi* (: *kwiba* 'to steal')--hence the use of *zi*- instead of *vi*- in the plural of the class of inanimate objects, e.g., *ziazi* 'potatoes' for *viazi*, *zombo* 'vessels' for *vyombo*, etc.

d. [n̪d̪] (dental nasal and voiced stop) instead of Swahili [nz], e.g., *ind̪i* 'fly' for *inzi*, *kufund̪a* 'to teach' for *kufunza*, *tand̪u* 'bough' for *tanzu*, etc.[17]

e. [t̪ɣ] (dental *t̪* with velarized off-glide) instead of Swahili [t̪šw], e.g., in *kichwa* 'head', *kuchwa* 'the whole day', etc.

f. Use of a negative {ki} tense, characterized by the insertion of -*t̪o*-[18] after the tense-marker, e.g., *nikit̪opata* 'if I do not get'.[19]

g. Substitution of *ny*- for *mi*- as plural prefix for nouns of the {mu} class with vocalic stem-initial, except names of trees and plants or objects pertaining to them, e.g., *nyaka* 'years' for *miaka*, *nyamba* 'rocks' for *miamba*, *nyezi* 'months' for *miezi*, etc.--but *miembe* 'mango trees', *miwa* 'thorns', etc.

6. *Mvit̪a* spoken on Mombasa island.

Characteristic Northern features of this dialect are:

a. Bantu */c/ reflected as the voiceless dental stop [t̪] and the corresponding aspirate [t̪ʰ] appearing in particular after /n/, e.g., in *bit̪i* 'unripe', *mt̪anga* 'sand', *kut̪eka* 'to laugh' (: Zanzibar *bichi*, *mchanga*, *kucheka*) and *nt̪'a* 'point', *nt̪'i* 'country', *t̪'awa* 'louse' (: Zanzibar *ncha*, *nchi*, *chawa*);

b. Bantu */j/ reflected as the voiced dental stop [d̪] after /n/, e.g., in *nd̪aa* 'hunger', *nd̪ia* 'road, path', *nd̪oo* 'come!' (: Zanzibar *njaa*, *njia*, *njoo*);

c. Retroflex [ɽ] for (Southern) Swahili alveolar [d] after nasal, in *ndani* 'inside', *ndogo* 'small', *panda* 'climb', etc. (nowadays only in the speech of cultivated people of the older generation);[20]

d. Usual omission of the redundant non-locative pronominal concord with the reference particle -*o*- when it corresponds to an English relative pronoun functioning as subject, e.g., *ndimu ilioanguka* 'the lemon which fell' (instead of *iliyoanguka*).

Two sub-dialects differing from kiMvit̪a are to be found in the Mombasa area:

(a) *ciJomvu*, spoken by the Jomvu;

(b) *kiNgare*, spoken in the Ngare area of Changamwe.

They are grammatically almost identical, the main phonetic difference distinguishing them being the palatalization of /k/ to /c/ [t̠š] before /i/ and /e/ in ciJomvu. Characteristic common differences from kiMvit̠a are:

(a) The replacement of syllabic [m̩], especially in class prefixes, by homorganic syllabic nasal before non-labial consonants, e.g., the syllabic velar [ŋ̩] before velars, in *n'ganga*[21] (for *mganga* 'medicine-man'), Ngare *nkewe* (: Jomvu *nchewe* 'his wife'); the syllabic dental [n̪̩] before dentals, in *nt̠anga* (: Mvit̠a *mt̠anga*, Unguja *mchanga*) 'sand', *nt̠o* 'pillow' (: Mvit̠a *mt̠o*); the syllabic alveolar [n̩] before other consonants, like [t], [s], [l], in *nto* 'river' (: Mvit̠a *mto*), *nsimpe* 'don't give him' (*n*- for the pronominal subject prefix of the second person plural *m*-), *nlango* 'door' (: Mvit̠a *mlango*); etc.

(b) The use of the negative prefix *k'a*- [k^{h}a] instead of *ha*-, and the retention of the final -*a* in the present, e.g., *k'apibwa* 'he is not being beaten' (Standard Swahili *hapigwi*).

The growing influence of kiMvit̠a on the speakers of the Jomvu and Ngare dialects, as well as the teaching of Standard Swahili in the schools, leads to rapid disintegration of the same.

7. *ciFundi*, spoken north of Vanga, on the Southern Kenya coast, with two sub-dialects, in Wasin and in Funzi respectively, the latter being strongly influenced by Mombasa speech. It differs in various points from Mvit̠a, e.g.

   a. A tendency to affricate intervocalic fricatives, e.g., Mvit̠a *t̠'afanya*[22] *kazi sasa hivi* 'I'll do the work right away', is heard in ciFundi as *t'a^{p}fanya ka^{d}zi ^{t}sa^{t}sa hi^{b}vi*;

   b. 'Lenition' of unaspirated alveolar /t/ to *r* and unaspirated /p/ to the voiced bilabial fricative [β] in intervocalic position, e.g., Swahili (including Mvit̠a) *-pita* 'pass', -*tuma* 'send' : ciFundi -*ʋira*,[23] -*ruma*, etc.

   c. Palatalization of /k/ and /g/ before front vowels, e.g., Swahili (including Mvit̠a) *sikia* 'hear', *pokea* 'accept', *ngisi* 'cuttle-fish' : ciFundi *sichia*, *ʋochea*, *njisi*, etc.

d. Use of the present negative of *jambwa* followed by the mere verbal stem, instead of the {ȷa} tense, e.g., *k'ajambwa fika* 'he has not yet arrived' (: Swahili, including Mvit̠a, *hajafika*, etc.

8. *Vumba*, spoken on Wasin Island and Jimbo near Vanga, as well as on the opposite mainland where it has however been influenced by Digo and the Tanga variety of southern Swahili. Its most striking peculiarities are to be found in the verbal system, namely:
   a. The present negative tense is characterized by the assimilation of the final vowel to the penultimate, except in the passive where *-a* is retained, e.g., Vumba *siʋara* 'I do not get', *k'aʋiri* 'he does not pass', *k'amvuru* 'you do not pull' (: Swahili, including Mvit̠a, *sipati*, *hapiti*, *hamvuti*.)
   b. There is an 'immediate perfect' with the tense-marker {a} and the special pronominal subject-prefixes {s(i)}, {ku}, {k(a)}, in the singular, e.g., (1st sg.) *safahamu* 'I have understood (what you just told me)';
   c. The positive past tense has no tense-marker {li}; it shows the same pronominal subject-prefixes as the 'perfect' in the singular and the same 'vowel harmony' as the present negative, e.g. *siʋara* 'I got', *kaʋiri* 'he passed', *ruondoko* 'we went away' (: Swahili, including Mvit̠a, *nilipata*, *alipita*, *tuliondoka*); the negative past, however, shows the tense-marker {li}, e.g. *silifunga* 'I did not tie', where the standard language has {ku}, e.g., *sikufunga*.
9. *Mtaŋata*, spoken on the Mrima coast in Tanganyika between Pangani and Tanga. It is characterized by the occurrence of the same special pronominal subject-prefixes as in Vumba in the 'perfect', which shows the tense-marker {na} instead of standard Swahili {me},[24] beside an emphatic form with {eši}, e.g., *sinakwenda shamba* 'I have gone to the field', *mke wangu keshipika k'ande* 'my wife has finished cooking the food', etc.

10. *Pemba*, spoken on Pemba Island, except the southern tip, is characterized by the absence of palatalization in the prefix *ki*- before nouns with initial vowel. In some areas, like the Micheweni-Wingwi peninsula in the north, subdialects have developed (cf., e.g., the use of *k'*- instead of *h*- in the negative prefix in the second or third person singular in Micheweni).
11. *Tumbatu*, spoken on Tumbatu Island north of Zanzibar and on the southern tip of Pemba Island as well as on the northern tip of Zanzibar Island.
12. *Hadimu*, also known as Makunduchi, spoken in the southern part of Zanzibar, shares with the two preceding dialects, as well as Vumba, post-radical vowel harmony in the verb, e.g., *nyaga njia* 'I have lost my way', *mfiki saa sita* 'I arrived at noon' (: standard Swahili *nimepotea njia*, *nimefika mchana*). Makunduchi differs from *Unguja* more than the other dialects:
    a. Besides considerable lexical divergence, it shows such phonological features as the 'lenition' of /p/ to [β], e.g., in -*ʋata* 'get', -*ʋika* 'cook', for -*pata*, -*pika*;
    b. The future tense-marker {ta} appears as -*ch'a*- [t̠šʰa], e.g., *nch'akaa vano* 'I will stay here' (: Unguja *nitakaa hapa*);
    c. There is a complete unmarked present paradigm of *kuwa* 'to be', e.g., (1st sg.) *nyiwa* 'I am', (3rd sg.) *kawa* 'he is', etc.--with a corresponding past tense: *nyevu* 'I was', *kevu* 'he was', etc.
13. *Unguja*, spoken in the central part of Zanzibar, especially in Zanzibar City.

    This dialect has now been widely accepted as the basis of 'standard' Swahili, as it is used in education, administration and current literature. The Inter-Territorial Language Committee, founded in 1930, has largely contributed to the spread and maintenance of this *written* form of Swahili by sponsoring linguistic research, encouraging the development of Swahili literature, supervising the current dictionaries and handbooks, and ruling on disputed cases of usage submitted to it for evaluation. It is responsible for the standardization of the spelling of the language and has acted as a welcome moderator in the coining of technical terms and in the adoption of loanwords. Several of its members have produced valuable studies contributing to a better knowledge of kiUnguja and the other Swahili dialects in its journal, now published under the title Swahili[25] by the Institute of Swahili Research (University College of Dar es Salaam), which has taken over the functions of the Committee since 1964.

Closely related to Unguja is the dialect of the mainland, spoken on the Mrima coast from Vanga almost down to Kilwa. It presents only slight local variations from standard Swahili and is well represented in German-Swahili literature of the pre-World War I colonial era. Among its characteristic features are the tendency to devoice /g/ to [k], e.g., in kiza instead of giza 'darkness', kani instead of gani 'what kind of?', etc.; the frequent shift of the palato-alveolar fricative /š/ to alveolar [s], e.g., in sindo instead of shindo 'noise', sauri instead of shauri 'plan, counsel'; and the generalization of [l] as intervocalic reflex of the non-nasal Swahili alveolar resonants /l/ and /r/ in some areas, even in Arabic loans, e.g., in chula for chura 'frog', bule for bure 'gratis, for nothing', balua for barua 'letter'.

Further south, the Swahili of the Mgao coast shows a greater influence of the languages of the neighboring Bantu; it is, however, too close to the Mrima dialect to be considered to be more than a sub-dialect of southern coastal Swahili.

14. Ngazija, spoken on Grand Comoro.
15. Nzwani, spoken on Anjouan.

Another dialect--kiMwali--showing features of Ngazija as well as of Nzwani, is spoken on Moheli Island. The Comoro dialects are peripheral dialects[26] with features in common with northern dialects like Bajuni, as well as with Vumba and other central dialects (e.g., post-radical vowel harmony in definite tenses, two sets of pronominal subject-prefixes in the singular).

As for the inland dialects, they are rather to be defined as social dialects according to the cultural background of the speakers, e.g., kiSettla, the contact vernacular used by European settlers with their domestic and farm staff; kiShamba, up-country Swahili, used as a 'lingua franca' in rural areas (shamba means 'country' as opposed to 'town'); kiHindi, the trade language used by Indian shopkeepers. During the war a kiVita jargon (i.e., army Swahili) also developed, but is now dying out. The differences between the local variants of these dialects are less considerable than one would expect: as the contact vernacular is characterized by oversimplification of the morphological and syntactic patterns, there is a close correspondence in the lines along which this process affects the language, and divergent development is due mainly to various influences of the local vernaculars. Such an influence is especially perceptible in the reshaping of the phonological and phonemic system and often, to a lesser degree, in the re-Bantuization of the vocabulary, when Arabic loans which are not readily understood inland are replaced by borrowings from the Bantu languages of the area. This is especially noticeable in the areas where coastal Swahili is not currently taught in the schools nor widely used by the administration, e.g., in the Congo. There, French is now basically the only language in the curriculum in the urban centers where Swahili speaking minorities are to be found, and the administration, which in principle uses standard written Swahili, is not primarily concerned with its correctness. This situation has led several missions to revert to a simplified Congo Swahili in their teaching and publications. This more or less artificial form of the language stands about halfway between standard Swahili and the up-country dialect of Swahili which is actually spoken. This dialect, though spread over a wide area reaching from the northeast of the Oriental Province down to northern Katanga, shows a remarkable unity which is presumably due to the historical background of its expansion, mainly with the slave-trade in the 19th century. Except for the Katanga mining district, the Swahili communities are essentially composed of descendants of the African helpers of the Arab merchants, who called themselves *waNgwana*--'the free (more civilized) men'--in contrast to the uncouth savages of the neighboring tribes, contemptuously called *waShenzi*. Their dialect, which also bears great resemblance to the dialect of inland areas of Swahili in Tanganyika (Ujiji, Tabora, Mwanza), is therefore known as *kiNgwana*. Two varieties of this dialect--*Ituri-kiNgwana* and *Lualaba-kiNgwana*--have received recognition in missionary literature, but in recent years, especially after the Yakusu Conference in 1946, deliberate efforts have been made to unify Congo Swahili and to bring its grammatical pattern closer to the standard form of East Coast Swahili.

Thus the Congo Swahili used by the Baptist Foreign Missions prescribes the use of tense and aspectual prefixes which are not used in colloquial Ituri-Swahili, e.g., -*ya*- 'not yet' in *si(ya)kwenda bado* 'I have not yet gone'. Quite typical among the various morphological features of Congo Swahili are (a) the expanded use of -*ku*- with monosyllabic verbal stems,[27] e.g., *mutu yule alisoma akakuwa* (instead of *akawa*) *mwalimu* 'that man studied and became a teacher'; (b) the use of a complex suffix -*aga* in the 'habitual' aspect, e.g., *wanakwendaga Goma* 'they often go to Goma'; and (c) the absence of the referential demonstrative in -*o*. Phonologically characteristic for Congo Swahili are the frequent devoicing of /g/ to [k] and /z/ to [s]; the free variation between [d] and [l], as well as between [l] and [r]; the realization of Swahili /ɟ/ as a palatal semivowel [j] except after nasal, where it is commonly realized as [z]; the often unpredictable occurrence of [b] instead of [w], etc. Southern Katanga Swahili shows essentially the same features with a few additional characteristics, which may be ascribed to its history and tribal environment.

Though the penetration of trade caravans and adventurers, like the muYeke chieftain Msiri, seeking profitable hunting grounds for ivory and slave-trading activities, created the first contact with Swahili, the real development of the Swahili-speaking communities only dates back to the economic growth of the country with the mining industry in the first half of this century, when the Union Minière du Haut-Katanga brought in a considerable number of migrant laborers and later tried to 'stabilize' this population in larger towns close to the mining centers. A large number of these workers came from areas in Eastern Congo and Rwanda-Burundi, where Swahili was spoken as a 'lingua franca', so that Swahili soon proved the most effective contact vernacular in this area as well, though the rural missions originally stuck to the local Bantu vernacular--ciBemba. At first this language had considerable influence on Katanga Swahili, but as a larger number of Luba-speakers from the north of the province and neighboring Kasayi settled down in the south, the impact of these immigrants (more than 40 per cent of the total urban population) on the Swahili spoken in the Union Minière compounds ultimately prevailed. A definite repatterning of Swahili phonology in conformity with the Luba phonemic system is still in progress: reinforcing the Congo Swahili trends, it shows a [ʊ] vowel after *m*- instead of [m̩] in the reflexes of the Bantu class-prefixes {mo} and {mu}, e.g., *mukulu* 'leg, foot' for *mguu*, and it has eliminated [g] in all positions except after nasal, e.g., *ndeke* for *ndege* 'bird', *pika* for *piga* 'strike'. (thus neutralizing the contrast /k/:/g/, evidenced by the minimal pair *pika* 'cook': *piga* 'strike'), but *funga* 'shut, close'. It is reorganizing the order of the dentals in such a way that the lateral /l/ appears, as it does in Luba, as *the* voiced phoneme contrasting with voiceless /t/, since (a) free variation of [l] and [r] occurs in various environments, e.g., in prevocalic initial position: *risasi* ~ *lisasi* 'cartridge', in intervocalic position and after vowel before -*y*-: *nguruwe* ~ *ngulube* 'pig', *kurya* ~ *kulya* 'eat' (dialectal form of *kula* 'eat'), with the result that [l] only is heard in many words where standard Swahili shows -*r*-, e.g., *mupila* 'rubber' (: *mpira*); (b) free variation between [l] and [d] is frequent, mainly in stem-initial position, e.g., *dawa* ~ *lawa* 'medicine, magic ingredient', *kidoko* ~ *kiloko* (: Standard Swahili *kidogo*), so that [d] is often practically reduced to the status of an allophone of /l/ after a nasal, e.g., *ulimi* 'tongue' : (plur.) *ndimi*. Typically Luba is the palatalization of [zi] to [ži] in *mbuzi* 'goat', *mukazi moja* 'Monday'.

In the morphology a wide disruption of the concord system and a considerable simplification of the conjugation characterize Katanga Swahili as a 'creolized pidgin'; the elimination of Arabic loans and their replacement by Bantu words or phrases goes much further than elsewhere in the Congo. Where the Lualaba dialect preserves words like *ghala* 'store-room', *ghali* 'scarce, expensive', *dhaifu* 'weak, despicable', *dharau* 'scorn', but replaces the unfamiliar Arabic fricatives [γ] and [θ] by [g] and [z], Katanga Swahili tends to eliminate them. A typical example is the term for 'carpenter': in standard Swahili a Persian-Arabic loanword--*seremala*--is used; this word is replaced by the phrase *fundi la mbao*, literally 'skilled workman of the planks', in up-country Swahili; in Elisabethville, the French loanword *menwizye* is more commonly heard.

Purely stylistic criteria have led to the nickname *kiBara* ('up-country') with which the coast-dwelling Swahili designate the language of government publications, which they consider as rather dull and lifeless; less derogatory are its other names *kiGavamenti* or *kiSerikali*.

E. Related languages

It has been assumed that the *Nyika* dialects, spoken in the coastal areas immediately behind the Swahili coastal strip on either side of Malindi, are more closely related to Swahili than to Taita, spoken further inland west of Voi, and the related dialects (*Digo*, *Pokomo*); the Nyika dialects are *Kauma*, *Conyi*, *Duruma*, *Rabai*, *Jibana*, *Kambe*, *Ribe* and possibly also *Digo*. *Giryama*, spoken north of the Sabaki river inland from the upper Mleji, shows remarkable correspondences to Swahili and has been tentatively classified together with the Nyika dialects. For lack of any comprehensive research on these dialects, it is impossible to indicate their degree of relationship with Swahili more precisely.

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NOTES

1. Swahili actually appears to be expanding in this area: 'After Makwa it is the most widely spoken language in northern Mozambique', according to A. Maria Lopez, 'A Lingua Suahili', in Boletim do Museu de Nampula, Vol. 2 (1961), pp. 131-2 (quoted in African Abstracts, Vol. 15 (1964), p. 45).

NOTES

2. Cf. M. Wright, 'Swahili Language Policy, 1890-1940', in Swahili, Vol. 35, No. 1 (1965), pp. 40-8.

3. As indicated by L. Harries in the conclusion of his study on 'The Arabs and Swahili Culture', in Africa, Vol. 34, No. 3 (1964), pp. 224-9, 'the use of Swahili today has strong overtones of African nationalism.'

4. The problems connected with the expanded use of Swahili in the legal field after independence are closely analyzed by A.B. Weston in his article, 'Law in Swahili—Problems in developing the national language', in Swahili, Vol. 35, No. 2 (1965), pp. 2-13.

5. Cf., e.g., W.H. Whiteley, 'The changing position of Swahili in East Africa', in Africa, Vol. 26, No. 4 (1956), pp. 343-53.

6. Quite a few Swahili terms have thus acquired new connotations in this specific sociological context, as W.H. Whiteley pointed out in his study, 'Problems of a lingua franca: Swahili and the trade-unions', in Journal of African Languages, Vol. 3, No. 3 (1964), pp. 215-25.

7. A similar situation prevailed with kinyaRwanda in Rwanda.

8. This also came to be the standard policy of the slave drivers further inland, and the presence of the Swahili-speaking communities in the Oriental Province and in Kivu in the Republic of the Congo is due to such a penetration, mainly in the second half of the 19th century.

9. Defined here as a linguistic form which bridges dialectal differences to obtain a satisfactory degree of mutual comprehension over a wide area where no standardized common language has yet been established, but where the degree of kinship of the dialects involved is sufficient for the establishment of such a means of communication.

10. Indicating the relation between the process expressed by the verb, and its subject or--as the case may be--its object, e.g., in the 'causative', 'passive', 'applicative' and such formations.

11. As shown by M. Goodman in a paper presented at the VIIIth Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association (October, 1965). Further details about the phonology and morphology of ciMiini are given by W.H. Whiteley in his 'Notes on the Ci-Miini Dialect of Swahili,' in African Language Studies, Vol. 6 (1965), pp. 67-72.

12. According to L. Harries, the local native speakers call their dialect kiTekuu, which makes the traditional interpretation of the name tikuu rather doubtful.

13. A collection of poems in this dialect was published by Ernst Dammann under the title *Dichtungen in der Lamu-Mundart des Suaheli* (Hamburg, 1940).

14. Cf. the chapter on 'The Linguistic Medium,' in L. Harries, *Swahili Poetry* (Oxford, 1962), pp. 13-23.

15. E.g., E. Dammann, 'Ein Fluchgedicht auf die Somali in der Siu-Mundart des Suaheli,' in *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen*, Vol. 32 (1941/2), pp. 286-300.

16. The use of the complex tense-marker {liki} might be considered as such a feature, since it occurs frequently in Mvit̠a. However, it also appears in narrative style in Zanzibar Swahili, where Steere describes it as denoting a continuous process, contrasting *walipopendana* 'when they loved one another' with *walipokipendana* 'while they loved one another' (the {ki} morpheme being inserted after the 'locative relative' {po}); in colloquial speech compounds forms like *walipokuwa wakienda Vanga, walimkuta mgeni yule* 'while they were going to Vanga, they came across that stranger' are currently used.

17. In the transliteration of these dialectal forms the underlined symbols represent dental stops, e.g., d̠ for voiced [d̪], t̠ for voiceless [t̪], t̠' for voiceless aspirate [t̪ʰ].

18. This {t̠o} morpheme is also used to form the negative future in Amu, e.g., *hatopata* 'he will not get', and may accordingly be identified with the {to} of the negative infinitive (cf. Chap. 2, note 89); however, in Pate {t̠e} occurs instead of {t̠o}, e.g., *hat̠epata* 'he will not get'.

19. This form also appears with the meaning 'unless I get', where Mvit̠a as well as standard Swahili use *nisipopata* (cf. Chap. 2, note 84).

20. Similarly, the retroflex articulation of /d/ and /t/ described by Taylor (1891) and Meinhof (1904) apparently no longer occurs, though the present alveolar stops seem to be articulated further back than in kiUnguja.

21. *n'* is a graphic device used to indicate syllabicity where plain *n* might be ambiguous; *n'g* is pronounced [ŋ̩g] (: Standard Swahili *ng* [ŋg] and *ng'* [ŋ]).

22. In *t'a*-, the aspiration of the *t* reflects the nasal phoneme of the 1st person singular pronominal subject prefix *n(i)*- before the tense-marker -*ta*-.

23. *υ* is the graphic reflex of the voiced bilabial fricative [β].

NOTES

24. Cf. the free alternation between {na} and {me} in Mvita, e.g., ninafunga ~ nimefunga 'I have shut' (: nafunga 'I am shutting [now]').

25. Formerly Journal of the East African Swahili Committee.

26. Actually, some scholars do not recognize the Comoro dialects as Swahili: though they appear to be structurally closely connected with Swahili (cf. Malcolm Guthrie, The Classification of the Bantu Languages [London, 1948], pp. 48-50), they differ considerably in their lexical material as well as in a set of characteristic phonological and morphological features.

27. With the exception of -pa 'give' which always requires a pronominal object-prefix, just as in East-Coast Swahili; accordingly, {ku} only occurs with it as a pronominal object-prefix of the 2nd person singular, e.g., nitakupa kitabu 'I will give you a book'.

2. STRUCTURAL SKETCH

2.0. Phonology: Introductory remarks

Present-day Swahili has a fairly well established written standard, which education and modern means of mass communication tend to spread. Language authorities accordingly agree by and large on its characteristic features in the field of morphology and syntax. They also try to check the increasing transfer of English syntactic patterns into the language of the daily press and carefully discuss which new technical terms should be adopted[1]; but eventually yield to the pressure of spoken usage when speakers make a different choice. However, as regards the sounds of Swahili, though efforts are currently made to improve the speech of teachers and radio announcers, less attention has been given to the formal establishment of a received Swahili pronunciation. This is due to various reasons such as (1) the rather strong sentimental attachment of coastal Islamic communities to their characteristic dialectal features, e.g., the dental stops [t̪] and [d̪] of *kiMvit̪a* in Mombasa, or (2) the divergent attitude of Muslim and non-Muslim speakers towards the specifically Arabic components of the Swahili phonemic system. Whereas the educated members of the Islamic community may try to approximate the pronunciation of the Arabic original in the numerous loanwords from Arabic in Swahili, less sophisticated speakers are likely to be less consistent in this usage, and non-Muslims will definitely discard such features as the 'emphatic' pronunciation of Arabic obstruents. Moreover, even such Arabic sounds as the fricatives [θ], [ð], and [γ], which have been recognized as part of the cross-dialectal Swahili phonetic system and which are accordingly represented by the special digraphs *th*, *dh* and *gh* in the standard spelling, may be eliminated by speakers who have learned Swahili as a second language and who largely adapt its pronunciation to their own phonetic system. Indeed, though the teaching of standard Swahili over a wide area of East Africa would be expected to contribute to the establishment of a more or less recognized school-pronunciation, largely based on a conventional phonetic rendering of the written standard, striking regional differences are not effectively ruled out in education, as teachers are not efficiently trained in Swahili phonetics and carry over peculiarities of their own mother-tongue in their Swahili pronunciation, e.g., the prenasalized voiced stops of Kikuyu substituted for the Swahili implosive [*b*], [*d*], [*g*]* in initial position.

It is accordingly rather difficult to establish a neat set of rules covering the realization of the segmental phonemes of Swahili in specific environments. Regional and stylistic differences, as well as the occurrence of phonemes appearing exclusively in morphemes borrowed from Arabic, make it preferable to set up a phonemic system containing a minimum and a maximum set of members. In this system the minimal set will reflect the phonemes for which contrastive minimal pairs are to be found on all levels of speech with all the speakers using the standard written form of Swahili for purpose of oral communication. Such phonemes as appear as part of the phonemic system of definite educated speakers of Swahili along the Mrima coast and in Zanzibar will constitute the supplementary members of the maximal system, leaving out those sophisticated reproductions of Arabic sounds which only belong to a very specific stylistic level and have no phonemic status in any case.

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* These symbols are used, for typographical convenience, in place of the more conventional symbols [ɓ], [ɗ], [ɠ].--Ed.

STRUCTURAL SKETCH

2.1. Segmental phonemes

The segmental phonemes of Swahili are:

Consonants:

Stops (incl. affricates)	p		t	c	k	
	ph		th	ch	kh	
	b		d	ɟ	g	
Fricatives	f	θ	s	š		h
	v	ð	z		ɣ	

Sonants:

Nasals	m	n	ɲ	ŋ
Non-nasals	w	l r	j	

Vowels: i e a o u

Solid lines show phonemes which only occur in the maximal system of some educated speakers; dotted lines show phonemes which do not occur in the minimal system of non-Muslim less educated speakers in definite areas of the mainland.

2.1.1. Consonant phonemes

The segmental consonant phonemes of Swahili are realized as follows by the average educated speaker:

/p/	[p]	voiceless bilabial plosive;
/ph/	[p^{h}]	voiceless aspirate bilabial plosive;
/b/	[ɓ]	implosive voiced bilabial stop;
	[b]	voiced bilabial plosive;
/t/	[t]	voiceless alveolar plosive;
/th/	[t^{h}]	voiceless aspirate alveolar plosive;
/d/	[ɗ]	implosive voiced alveolar stop;
	[d]	voiced alveolar plosive;
/c/	[t̲š]	voiceless postalveolar affricate;
/ch/	[t̲š^{h}]	voiceless aspirate postalveolar affricate;
/ɟ/	[ɟ]	implosive voiced palatal stop;
	[d̲ž]	voiced postalveolar affricate;
/k/	[k]	voiceless velar plosive;

/kh/	[kʰ]	voiceless aspirate velar plosive;
/g/	[ɠ]	implosive voiced velar stop;
	[g]	voiced velar plosive;
/f/	[f]	voiceless labiodental fricative;
/v/	[v]	voiced labiodental fricative;
/θ/	[θ]	voiceless dental fricative;
/ð/	[ð]	voiced dental fricative;
/s/	[s]	voiceless alveolar fricative;
/z/	[z]	voiced alveolar fricative;
/š/	[š]	voiceless postalveolar fricative;
/ɣ/	[ɣ]	voiced velar fricative;
/h/	[x]	voiceless velar fricative;
	[h]	voiceless glottal spirant;
/m/	[m]	bilabial nasal stop;
/n/	[n]	alveolar nasal stop;
/ɲ/	[ɲ]	palatal nasal stop;
/ŋ/	[ŋ]	velar nasal stop;
/l/	[l]	alveolar lateral;
/r/	[r]	alveolar trill;
/w/	[w]	velarized bilabial sonant;
/j/	[j]	palatal glide sonant.

2.1.1.1. The problem of the voiceless aspirates is one of the most complex of Swahili phonemics. Whereas their phonemic status seemed fairly well established a few generations ago, there is considerable inconsistency as regards aspiration in the idiolects nowadays in Zanzibar and the neighboring coastal area.

The evidence to establish the phonemic status of the voiceless aspirates consists of:

(1) minimal pairs of semantically different lexical items, e.g.,

/p/ : /ph/ paa [p] 'roof': paa [pʰ] 'small gazelle';

/t/ : /th/ tando [t] 'fungus' : tando [tʰ] 'swarm';

/c/ : /ch/ chungu [t̲š] 'cooking-pot' : chungu [t̲šʰ] 'black ant';

/k/ : /kh/ *kaa* [k] 'sit down' : *kaa* [kʰ] 'crab';

(2) contrasts between nouns belonging to the {n} class and their augmentatives, e.g.:
pembe [pʰ] 'horn' : *pembe* [p] 'big horn';
tundu [tʰ] 'hole' : *tundu* [t] 'big hole';
chupa [tšʰ] 'bottle' : *chupa* [tš] 'demijohn';
kuta [kʰ] 'walls (plural)' : *kuta* [k] 'large walls'.

Aspiration as a distinctive feature to contrast two lexical items seems to have been better preserved, especially in the northern area, e.g., in Mombasa. Along the Mrima coast and in Zanzibar, the rural areas appear to be more conservative than the larger towns: Zanzibarites do not distinguish *paka* 'smear' from *paka* 'cat' in current speech, but people from the north as well as from the south of the island clearly contrast the non-aspirate [p] in *paka* 'smear' with the aspirate [pʰ] in *paka* 'cat'. There is more hesitation on the mainland, e.g., in the Tanga area, but most educated speakers no longer contrast the aspirate and the non-aspirate further south, e.g., in Dar es Salaam. In practically all the cases the aspiration is corollary to the morphophonemic change of the class prefix {n} to zero before voiceless obstruents. When augmentatives with initial non-aspirates stand to contrast with {n} stems, such a prominent Swahili poet as the late Shaaban Robert of Tanga would avoid using the augmentative and resort to a periphrastic form with the adjective *kubwa* 'large'. Further north the original distribution is still partly preserved, e.g., in Mombasa, where *tundu* [tʰ] 'hole' is contrasted with *tundu* [t] 'basket of wickerwork used as a cage or fish-trap', whereas a 'demijohn' is called *chupa kubwa*, so that, actually, the augmentative seems to be preserved only when it has been lexicalized. However, some speakers pronounce {n} class nouns whose stem shows an initial voiceless stop or affricate /p/, /t/, /k/ or /c/, with or without aspiration, but carry this unpredictable aspiration over to the same initial voiceless obstruents of nouns belonging to other classes.

As a matter of fact, there appears to be a general tendency to connect aspiration with stress and with initial position, e.g., mwítu 'forest', with [t]: mwitúni 'in the forest', with [t^h] in the stressed syllable; una takataka 'you are dirty', with [t^h] in word-initial position and in the stressed penultimate; kahawa, with [k^h] in initial position, etc.

The blurring of the contrast between aspirate and non-aspirate is consequently probably ascribable to the following causes:

(a) its low functional yield on the semantic level (only a few dozen minimal pairs, mostly implying rather technical terms, unknown to various speakers);

(b) the tendency to aspirate initial voiceless stops and affricate, especially when this tendency was reinforced by the stress factor in dissyllabic nouns, leading to the confusion of the augmentative with the ordinary form of some nouns;

(c) the absence of notation of the aspiration both in the older Arabic writing system of Swahili and in its current romanization;

(d) the growing influence of the numerous non-native speakers who fail to establish a difference on which no stress is laid in Swahili language education in any case.

2.1.1.2. The point of articulation of the allophones of /g/ and /k/, as well as of /kh/, is situated further back before velar vowels, e.g., [k̠] in kusini 'south'.

2.1.1.3. The implosive allophones of the voiced stops /b/, /d/, /ɟ/, /g/ occur in all environments except after tautosyllabic nasal[2]; e.g.,

/b/ beba ['ɓɛ̞:ɓɑ̟] 'carry on (your) back', mbovu 'rotten' [m̩'ɓɔ̞:vʊ] (with an {m} class noun) : ['mbɔ̞:vʊ] (with an {n} class noun), jembe ['ɟɛ̞·mbe] 'hoe';

/d/ damu ['ɗa:mʊ] 'blood', bado ['ɓa̠:ɗo] 'not yet' : ndefu ['ndɛ̞:fʊ] 'long', nyekundu [ɲe'kʊˑndʊ] 'red';

/ɟ/ jenga ['ɟɛ̞·ŋgɑ̟] 'build', maji ['ma̠:ɟɪ] 'water' : njema ['nd̠že:mɑ] 'good', punje ['pʊ·nd̠že] 'kernel';

/g/ giza ['ɠi:za̲] 'darkness', bega ['ɓɛ̝:ɠɑ̝] 'shoulder' : ngapi ['ŋga̲:pɪ] 'how many?', funga ['fʊ·ŋgɑ̟] 'fasten'. Some speakers, however, do not pronounce the velar voiced stop implosively in any position. In certain areas, there is also a widespread tendency to affrication of /ɟ/ in all environments; between syllabics, a postalveolar voiced fricative [ž] may then occur in free variation with [d̲ž].

2.1.1.4. The fricatives /θ/, /ð/ and /ɣ/ appear exclusively in Arabic loanwords, their occurrence being restricted to two environments[3]:

(1) prevocalic initial position /# — V/, e.g.,
/ð/ dhamana 'surety', dhukuru 'remember';
/θ/ theluji 'snow', thabiti 'resolute', thubutu 'dare';
/ɣ/ ghali 'scarce', ghera 'jealousy', ghofiriwa 'be pardoned';

(2) intervocalic position /V—V/, e.g.,
/ð/ haidhuru 'it does not matter', kadhalika 'in like manner';
/θ/ theluthi 'one third', hadithi 'story';
/ɣ/ lugha 'language', atakughilibu 'he will fool you'.

However, in verbal forms they may also occur after the syllabic allophone of /m/ in the morpheme functioning as object pronoun of the third person singular, e.g., hawatamghilibu 'they will not fool him'.

The fricatives /θ/, /ð/, /ɣ/ are part of the phonemic system of all educated Swahilis on the islands and in the coastal areas. Further inland, speakers who are less influenced by Arabic pronunciation tend to substitute [s] or [t] for [θ], [z] for [ð] and [g] for [ɣ]. Consequently, the fricatives /θ/, /ð/, /ɣ/ are to be excluded from the minimal phonemic system of Swahili in areas where such pronunciations as [sela'si:nɪ] or [tela'ti:nɪ] instead of [θela'θi:nɪ] in thelathini 'thirty', ['za·mbɪ] instead of ['ða·mbɪ] in dhambi 'sin', and ['ga̲:lɪ] instead of ['ɣa̲:lɪ] 'scarce', prevail.

2.1.1.5. The velar allophone [x] of /h/ occurs only in loanwords with Arabic /x/, but is always in free variation with [h], except in a few lexical items like khalifa [xa̟'li:fa̟] 'caliph', sabalkheri [səɓa̠l'xɛ̝:rɪ] 'good morning', where it is spelled kh[4]. Elsewhere, the glottal allophone [h] is preferred by speakers who are less influenced by Arabic pronunciation, e.g., in habari [ha̟'ɓa̠:rɪ] ~ [xa̟'ɓa̠:rɪ] 'news', hofu ['hɔ̝:fʊ] ~ ['xɔ̝:fʊ] 'fear', etc.

2.1.1.6. The phonemic status of [ŋ] might be questioned on account of its rather low functional yield outside clusters with a velar obstruent, where it could be interpreted as a velar allophone of /n/. However, the occurrence of such minimal pairs of ng'oa [ŋ] 'root up': ngoa [ŋg] 'jealousy': noa [n] 'whet': nyoa [ɲ] 'shave off (hair)' evidently implies positing /ŋ/ as a consonant phoneme of Swahili.

2.1.1.7. The nasal phonemes /m/, /n/ and /ŋ/ also show syllabic allophones. The occurrence of these syllabic allophones is distributionally predictable only when the nasal phonemes carry the stress in words of the type /NC(C)V/, i.e., dissyllabic words in which the nasal appears in initial position and followed only by a consonant or consonant cluster, plus a vowel, e.g., mpya ['m̩pja] 'new', nta ['n̩ta̠] '(bees) wax', nge ['ŋ̍ge] 'scorpion'.

The syllabicity of unstressed preconsonantal /m/ depends upon definite morphophonemic rules (cf. 2.2.2.1). Syllabic allophones of unstressed initial /n/ and /ŋ/ may also be heard before the voiced obstruents /d/, /ɟ/, /z/ and /g/. Whereas syllabic [m̩] contrasts with non-syllabic [m] in such minimal pairs as [m̩'ɓɔ̝:vʊ] : ['mbɔ̝:vʊ], both spelled mbovu 'bad, rotten', applying, e.g., to mti 'tree' and to ndizi 'banana', the syllabicity of /n/ and /ŋ/ is always (1) phonetically less marked, and (2) in free variation with the non-syllabic allophone of the relevant nasal in the same idiolect, e.g., ndege 'bird' ['ndɛ̝:ɠe] ~ [n̩'dɛ̝:ɠe], njugu 'groundnut' ['nd̠žu:ɠʊ] ~ [n̩'d̠žu:ɠʊ], ngoma 'drum' ['ŋgɔ̝:ma̟] ~ [ŋ̍'gɔ̝:ma̟]. Moreover, the implosive allophone of /d/, /ɟ/, /g/ never occurs after [n̩] or [ŋ̍].

In the pronunciation of numerous speakers the syllabic allophones of /m/, /n/ and /ŋ/ are in free variation with non-phonemic segments occurring at the syllabic peak, either before or after the nasal: with /m/ a short vowel release [^{U}] is usually heard, whereas in dissyllabic words with /n/ and /ŋ/ a vowel-colored onset [^{I}] appears, e.g., [m̩] or [m^{U}] in *mganga* 'medicine-man', and [n̩] or [^{I}n] in *nchi* 'country'. However, the [^{I}] onset also appears in some dissyllabic words where /m/ occurs before a bilabial or labiodental obstruent, e.g., *mbwa* 'dog' ['m̩bwɑ̱] ~ ['^{I}mbwɑ̱], *mvi* 'grey hair' ['ɱ̩vɪ] ~ ['^{I}ɱvɪ].[5]

Before labiodentals, the syllabic allophone of /m/ may show labiodental articulation, e.g., *mvule* [ɱ̩'vuːle] '(East African) teak', *mfereji* [ɱ̩fe'rɛ̞ːɟɪ] 'ditch'.

2.1.1.8. In colloquial speech, Swahili /r/ is commonly reflected by a short apico-alveolar trill, which can be reduced to a single tap. It accordingly appears regularly as an apico-alveolar flap [ɾ] in the pronunciation of many speakers.

2.1.1.9. The phonemic status of /r/ versus /l/ is clearly evidenced by such minimal pairs as *rehemu* 'pity': *lehemu* 'solder' or *wari* 'yard': *wali* 'cooked rice'. It should, however, be pointed out that:

(a) most of the lexical evidence for /r/ consists of loanwords, mainly from Arabic: these loanwords often belong to a rather technical vocabulary and may contrast with Bantu words with initial /l/, e.g., *mrama* 'rolling (of ship)':*mlama* 'kind of *combretum* used in snake-bite remedies';

(b) in Bantu words, /l/ occurs more frequently before the high and mid front vowels[6], and [r] appears mostly in free alternation with [l], e.g., *lamba* ~ *ramba* 'lick'; *lega* ~ *rega* 'be loose'; *loga* ~ *roga* 'bewitch'.

Upon closer examination, it seems probable that [r] was originally merely a free variant of [l]. In standard Swahili orthography either the form with *r* or the form with *l* may indifferently have been retained, hence *r*, e.g., in *rungu* 'club' or *chura* 'frog', also pronounced with [l]. However, the prevalence of definite spellings in cases of semantic differentiation led to the development of contrastive pairs like linga 'measure, adjust, harmonize': ringa 'strut'. Whereas the alternation [l] ~ [r] was originally dialectal in Bantu, the impact of Arabic influence made the distinction between /l/ and /r/ phonemic and led to a rather arbitrary redistribution of l and r in words of Bantu stock, hence /r/ in refu 'long', kuruka 'to jump' or zuri 'fine, nice'. Conversely, some Arabic loans showed alternate forms with [l] and [r], e.g., laghai 'cheat' [la'ɣa̲·ɪ] ~ [ra'ɣa̲·ɪ], risasi 'bullet' [rɪ'sa:sɪ] ~ [lɪ'sa:sɪ].

2.1.1.10. The special social situation resulting from the prestige of Arabic culture among the Swahili Muslims of the islands and the coastal areas still strongly under the spiritual influence of the Sultanate has led to important stylistic differentiation in Swahili pronunciation. In the solemn style of recitation and public address in the mosque, and in other types of formal speech, a typically Arabized pronunciation of Arabic loans can be heard. Its characteristic features are:

(1) a distinction between an 'emphatic' and a 'non-emphatic' articulation of the allophones of /t/, /s/ and /ð/: this distinction is especially marked in the case of /t/, whose 'emphatic' allophone is characterized by a dental pronunciation of the obstruent [t̪] with a simultaneous raising of the back of the tongue, producing a mid-high velar glide [ɷ], e.g., sultani 'sultan' [sʊɫ't̪ɷɑ̲:nɪ], tayari 'ready' [t̪ɷɑ̲'ja̟:rɪ]; the same velarization appears in the 'emphatic' allophones of /s/ and /ð/, e.g., safi 'clean' ['sɷɑ̲:fɪ], occasionally written swafi; radhi 'blessing' ['ra:ðɷɪ];

(2) a velarized allophone [ɫ] of /l/, e.g., in the name of God: Allah;

(3) a postvelar articulation [q] of /k/, e.g., in kima 'size, measurement' ['qi:ma̟];

(4) a dental articulation [t̪] of /t/, e.g., in mtini 'fig-tree' [m̩'t̪i:nɪ];

(5) the occurrence of the pharyngeal fricatives [ħ] and [ʕ], and of the glottal stop [ʔ]; [ʕ] and [ʔ] alternate with zero in ordinary speech, e.g., arusi 'wedding' [ʕɑ'ru:sɪ] ~ [a'ru:sɪ], laana 'curse' [la'ʕɑ·na̠] ~ [la'a·na̠], akili 'mind, intellect' [ʔɑ'qi:lɪ] ~ [a'ki:lɪ]; [ħ] appears as an allophone of /h/, e.g., hata 'until' ['ħa̟(t)ta̠] ~ ['ha̟ta̠];

(6) a uvular articulation [ʀ] of /r/, e.g., tahadhar(i) 'be careful' [ta'ħa̟·ðəʀ] ~ [taha̟'ða:rɪ].

Whereas the characteristic velarization of the 'emphatic' obstruents does not usually occur in colloquial speech, other features of the Arabized pronunciation may occasionally be heard in current conversation with more sophisticated speakers.

2.1.1.11. Unpredictable alternations occur in certain morphemes:

(1) neutralization of the contrast voiced:unvoiced for some obstruents, e.g., kufuka ~ kuvuka 'to give out smoke', uchofu ~ uchovu 'tediousness';

(2) shift of place of articulation in alveolar/post-alveolar area, e.g., sikio ~ shikio 'ear';

(3) free variation of the point of articulation of voiced fricatives between the labiodental and alveolar area, e.g., mwivi ~ mwizi 'thief', ngovi ~ ngozi 'skin'.

2.1.2. Vowel phonemes

The segmental vowel phonemes of Swahili are realized as follows:

/i/ [i] tense high unrounded front vowel;
[ɪ] lax high unrounded front vowel, lower than [i] and slightly centralized;
/u/ [u] tense high rounded back vowel;
[ʊ] lax high rounded back vowel, lower than [u];
/e/ [e] mid high unrounded front vowel;
[ɛ̝] mid unrounded front vowel, markedly higher than the cardinal position for [ɛ];
/o/ [o] mid high rounded back vowel;
[ɔ̝] mid rounded back vowel, markedly higher than the cardinal position for [ɔ];

/a/ [a] low front vowel, with more or less fronted varieties [a̟], [a̠];

[ɑ] low back vowel, with more centralized or velarized varieties [ɑ̟], [ɑ̠];

[ə] mid low central vowel.

2.1.2.1. The distribution of the allophones of /i/, /u/, /e/ and /o/ depends essentially upon stress and nasal environment:

(a) [i], [u], [ɛ̝], [ɔ̝] occur in stressed syllables with a marked lengthening[7];

(b) [ɪ], [ʊ], [e], [o] occur in unstressed syllables; before clusters of a nasal plus an obstruent, half long [ɪˑ] and [ʊˑ] are usually found in stressed syllables, e.g., *simba* 'lion' ['sɪˑmbɑ̟], *kulinda* 'to guard' [kʊ'lɪˑnda̠], *mungu* 'God' ['mʊˑŋgʊ], *kumbe* 'behold!' ['kʊˑmbe]. Similarly, half-low [eˑ] and [oˑ] frequently occur before the bilabial nasal [m] plus obstruent in stressed syllables, e.g., *pembe* ['pʰeˑmbe] 'corner', *vyombo* ['vjoˑmbo] 'utensils'. Before other nasal clusters and /m/ [eˑ] and [oˑ] often alternate freely with [ɛ̝ˑ] and [ɔ̝ˑ], e.g., in *penda* 'love', *jema* 'good', *ngoma* 'drum'. There is also a tendency to pronounce the mid high vowel [e] after [w], e.g., *kweli* ['kwe:lɪ] 'truth', *wetu* ['we:tʊ] 'our' (people). It is, however, impossible to establish a definite distribution pattern, as individual variations are numerous[8], e.g., some speakers tend to pronounce the open variety [ɛ̝], [ɔ̝] in final position and to contrast the allophones of two successive /e/ or /o/'s in height, e.g., *konde* ['kɔ̝ˑndɛ̝] 'field', *mchoko* [m̩'t̠šo:kɔ̟] 'tiredness', *yeye* ['je:jɛ̝] 'he'.

2.1.2.2. The allophones of /a/ are spread over an apparently continuous stretch from back to front, depending upon the preceding non-syllabic: after [w], [ɑ] is pronounced quite far back, e.g., *kwangu* ['kwɑˑŋgʊ] '(at) my (home)'; in the neighborhood of Arabic 'emphatics' it is pronounced further back and even combines with their velarization into a diphthong [ɔ̝ɑ̠] in pronunciations with a deliberate Arabic bias, e.g., *sultani* [sʊɫ'tɔ̝ɑ̠:nɪ] 'sultan, chief'. Its pronunciation is more central after velar and labial or labiodental consonants, and slightly fronted after dental or alveolar consonants; it is very fronted after [j], e.g., *yale* ['ja̟:le] 'those' (eggs).

In stressed position the allophones of /a/ are markedly longer; this lengthening is, however, less noticeable before a nasal cluster. As a rule, in final position, they are pronounced further back than elsewhere and may be 'weakened' to a mid low central vowel [ə]. This [ə] allophone also occurs sometimes in other unstressed positions.

2.1.2.3. Falling diphthongs occur in the current pronunciation of some Arabic loanwords like *shauri* 'affair', *laini* 'smooth', *bei* 'price'. However, these diphthongs usually alternate with dissyllabic pronunciations, except in a few cases, where monophthongization to [e:] or [o:] also occurs, e.g., in *sheik* 'chief, influential person' ['šeik] ~ ['še:k$^{(I)}$], also spelled *sheki*; this also accounts for alternate forms like *saumu* [sa'u·mʊ] ~ ['so:mʊ] 'fast'. In some Arabic loans the dissyllabic pronunciation always prevails, as it does in words of Bantu stock, e.g., for /au/ in *sauti* [sa'u·tɪ] 'voice'.

2.1.2.4. Non-phonemic segments occasionally occur in intervocalic environments; such are the [ʲ] and [ʷ] glides, varying freely with zero, which appear in *ndi(y)o* 'yes', *ya(y)i* 'egg', *to(w)a* 'give out', *tu(w)i* 'coconut-juice', etc.

2.1.3. Phonotactics

The distribution of segmental phonemes in current speech is governed by rather simple rules:

(a) all vowel phonemes occur in initial or final position, as well as medially before or after vowel or consonant phonemes (i.e., in the environments /+ —/, /— +/, /V —/, /— V/, /C —/ and /— C);

(b) all consonant phonemes occur in initial position; all of them also occur in pre- and postvocalic medial position, except the voiceless aspirates which appear in prevocalic initial position only[9].

In words of Bantu origin, practically[10] only two types of clusters are likely to occur: (1) nasal + consonant; (2) consonant + /j/ or /w/; though a combination of the two types in nasal + obstruent + /w/ is also possible, e.g., in *ugonjwa* 'sickness'.

All consonant phonemes, except the voiceless aspirates and the sonants /w/ and /j/, may occur after /m/, if it is realized as syllabic [m̩] (or [ɱ̩]) before a syllable boundary.[11] Non-syllabic [m] as first component of tautosyllabic clusters appears as a rule only before labial and labiodental consonants.

Only /t/, /d/, /c/, /ɟ/, /s/, /z/, /w/ and /n/[12] commonly occur after /n/; moreover, the occurrence of /t/, /c/ and /s/ after syllabic [n̩] is restricted to the monosyllabic stems with these initial consonant phonemes.

Only velar obstruents and /w/ occur after /ŋ/, and only /w/ after /ɲ/.

On the other hand, the following restrictions on the occurrence of postconsonantal /j/ and /w/ may be observed:

(a) /j/ does not occur after /b/, /d/, /ɟ/, /g/, nor after any other non-bilabial or non-labiodental consonant;

(b) /w/ does not occur after /f/, /h/ or /d/, except if /d/ is preceded by /n/, e.g., *mpendwa* 'favorite'.[13]

In loans from non-Bantu languages, a considerable number of other consonantal sequences may occur, e.g., /lh/ in *alhamisi* 'Thursday'; /lf/ in *elfu* 'thousand'; /rt/ *sharti* 'of necessity'; /sk/ in *kaskazi* 'hot season'. Some of these sequences only occur medially where the two consonants are separated by a syllable boundary. Only a limited number of them can occur initially, e.g., /fr/ in *frasila* (weight of ca. 35 lb.), /st/ in *stahere* 'don't trouble', /skr/ in *skrubu* 'screw'. However, a non-phonemic vocalic segment often occurs between the two nonsyllabic components of such sequences, e.g., in *shtaki* 'accuse' [šɪ'ta:kɪ].

2.1.4. The syllable

As a rule, each vowel counts as a syllable in Swahili, but the peak of a Swahili syllable may also be a syllabic preconsonantal nasal or, in some Arabic loans, a falling diphthong.

The smallest syllabic unit consists of a single vowel or syllabic nasal. Longer ones comprise a vowel preceded by one or more consonants.

Syllable division occurs between a vowel or syllabic nasal and the following consonant. In words of Bantu stock, consonant sequences are always tauto-syllabic; accordingly, in mamba 'crocodile' and kubwa 'big, large', the clusters /mb/ and /bw/ belong to the second syllable. In loanwords, the syllable boundary usually lies after the first of two consonants, e.g., between /l/ and /t/ in sultani; however, in colloquial speech, this (apparently) syllable-final consonant is often released with a short vowel, thus tending to re-establish the Bantu pattern of syllabification, e.g., labda 'perhaps' [ˈla·ɓᵘɗa̠],[14] ratli 'pound' [ˈra·tᴵlɪ], also spelled ratili.

All segmental phonemes occur initially in syllables. Only vowel segments usually occur in syllable-final position, though, in loanwords, consonants may occur in this position. However, only /s/ will currently be heard in word-final position in colloquial speech in basi 'enough', pronounced [ˈɓa̠s·] (alternating with [ˈɓa̠:sɪ]).[15] Accordingly, the syllable types most commonly found in Swahili are /V/ (including the syllabic nasal) and /CV/. The type /CCV/ is usually restricted to syllables with either a nasal as first consonant or /j/ or /w/ as second consonant. The type /C(C)VC/ only appears in non-Bantu loanwords; the same restriction applies to the type /CCCV/, except when the first consonant is a nasal and the third /w/, e.g., in nyangwa 'sandy wastes'.

2.1.5. Suprasegmental phonemes of stress, pitch and juncture

2.1.5.1. Stress occurs as a rule on the penultimate vowel phoneme or syllabic allophone of a nasal phoneme. However, in some loanwords, mostly of Arabic origin, it is liable to occur on the antepenultimate, e.g., *núsura* 'almost', *lázima* 'necessity'. With regard to the usual co-occurrence of penultimate stress, e.g., in *kadhalika* 'likewise' [ka̠'ða·lɪkɑ̟] ~ [ka̠ᶞa'li:kɑ̟], the Arabic stress pattern might be considered a stylistic feature, so that, at a certain level of speech, the position of stress would be strictly predictable from a phonemic word juncture /+/. Though, in most cases, /ʹ/ occurs automatically on the penultimate syllabic, the situation is more complex in strictly non-Arabized pronunciation, since it shows contrastive pairs like *barábara* 'exactly':*barabára* 'highway', confirming the phonemic status of stress in Swahili.

Stress gives unity to the phonological word: as a consequence, such elements as the pronominal concord with the connective particle *a*, in attributive determination, or the initial pronominal prefix or the invariable copulative *ni* or *si*, in predicative determination, are clitics, which belong phonologically with the following word, e.g., in *mzigo u mzito* 'the load is heavy' /umzíto/, *tunda hili ni pera* 'this fruit is a guava' /nipéra/, *maneno ya Salum* 'the words of Salum' /jasálum/.

The same function of stress is also evidenced by such contrastive pairs as *watáka kázi* 'they want work': *wataka kázi* 'those looking for a job', in which the second expression is a nominal compound with one 'unitive' word-stress on the first syllable of /kázi/, whereas the first is a clause consisting of the verbal form *watáka* and its object *kázi*, both with equally stressed penultimate. In the second expression, /ta/ in *wataka* only receives a non-phonemic--much weaker--secondary stress.

There are actually several non-phonemic degrees of loudness, but the emphatic stress /ʺ/ is accompanied by a distinctive low-rising pitch-pattern and may therefore be considered as a modifier of the relevant terminal.

2.1.5.2. The sentence intonation patterns of Swahili are rather difficult to describe on account of numerous individual variations. These variations are due to several influences, e.g.:

(a) of Arabic, whose chanting recitation style is taught in the Koranic schools;

(b) of English, whose British patterns are taught and drilled for years in primary and secondary education in a deliberate effort to eliminate the influence of the local language on English intonation;

(c) of the native tongues of the vast majority of non-native speakers of Swahili, especially on the mainland.

Nevertheless, it is possible to define at least the main features of a commonly acceptable Swahili intonation system.

2.1.5.2.1. There are three contrastive levels of pitch in Swahili: high, mid and low, though intermediate stages may occur in the ascending or descending 'pitch-contours', i.e., successions of relative pitches on the stressed syllables delimited by terminals. It should be noticed that stressed syllables are characterized by a slightly higher pitch than the preceding non-stressed syllable, in the onset at least.

2.1.5.2.2. There are three terminals in Swahili, definable in terms of major final and non-final junctures:

(a) /↓/ high/low, realized as [¯.] or [\.], with a high or high-falling pitch on the penultimate stressed syllable and low pitch on the final non-stressed syllable;

(b) /↑/ mid/high-falling, realized as [-\ ] or [/.], with a mid or mid-rising pitch on the penultimate stressed syllable and a high-falling or low pitch on the final syllable, which is somewhat longer in the case of a high-falling pitch;

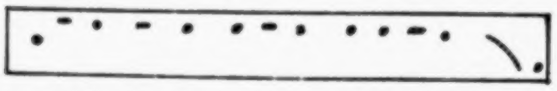
(c) /|/ high sustained, realized as [¯˙] or [¯˙], with a high pitch on the penultimate stressed syllable, the final syllable being on the same level or on a somewhat higher pitch.

The high/low terminal /↓/ occurs:

(1) in plain statements and orders, with a descending pitch-contour characterized by a series of slightly descending steps in the level pitches of the penultimate syllables of the various words of the utterance, except the last one,

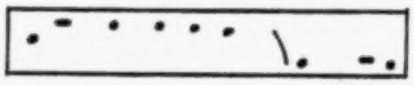
which gets the utterance-final high/low terminal, e.g.,

watóto wángu wawíli watarúdi késho



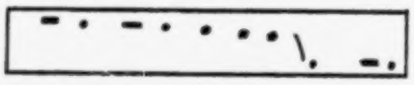
Any morpheme occurring after /↓/ in such utterances remains on a low pitch level, e.g., titles of address, non-emphasized adverbs in final position and--for stylistic reasons--other words occurring at the end of a sentence, e.g.,

Vikómbe vimevunjíka, bíbi.



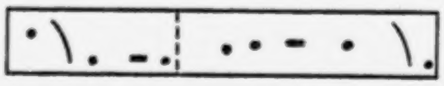
'The cups are broken, Madam'.

Shóka láke limepotéa téna.



'His axe is lost again'.

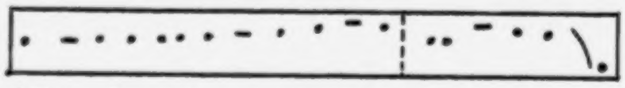
Siéndi léo, nilikwénda jána.



'I do not go today, I went yesterday'.

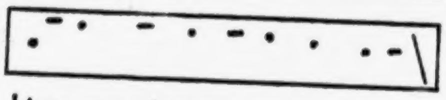
(2) in direct answers to questions without an interrogative particle and in the second part of contrastive sentence patterns. In such utterances, /↓/ is preceded by an ascending pitch-contour, characterized by a series of slightly ascending steps from the mid to the high level in the pitches of the penultimate syllables of the various words of the utterance, though in short utterances the transition from mid to high may occur in one step, e.g.,

Mchéle uliokuwáko dukáni haukúwa mzúri.



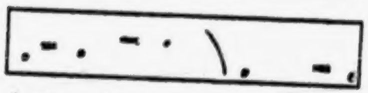
'The rice that was available in the shop, was not good'.

Viátu vyángu vímo sandukúni?



'Are my shoes in the box?'

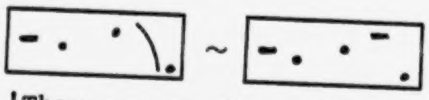
Viátu vípo hápa, bwána.



'The shoes are here, Sir'.[17]

In case of an answer to a question containing an interrogative particle, the utterance-final high/low terminal appears at the end of the ascending pitch-contour, i.e., the pitch either drops abruptly on the last stressed penultimate syllable of the utterance or its high level on that syllable contrasts sharply with the low level on the last syllable of the utterance, e.g., in the answer to: Sahani zipo wapi? 'Where are the plates?'

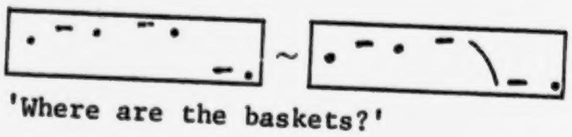
Zípo mezáni.



'They are on the table'.

(3) in questions with an interrogative particle where it appears as a contrast of pitch level between the particle itself and the preceding word. It is realized as a combination of low pitch on the stressed penultimate and non-stressed final syllables of the particle, either with high pitch on the stressed penultimate and non-stressed final syllables of the preceding word, or with high-falling pitch on the final syllable of the same. The preceding part of the sentence is on a high level pitch in short utterances, but may show some fluctuation in its pitch-contour in longer utterances, e.g.,

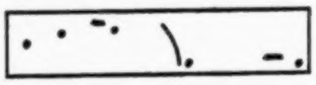
Vikápu víko wápi?



'Where are the baskets?'

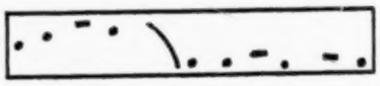
An alternate pattern occurs in which the particle itself carries the high/low terminal: this is usually the case when it is followed by a title of address or words occurring in utterance-final position for stylistic reasons, e.g.,

Ninunúe níni, bwána?



'What shall I buy, Sir?'

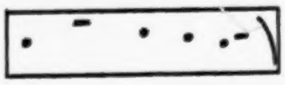
Alifíka líni mgéni húyu?



'When did he arrive, this stranger?'

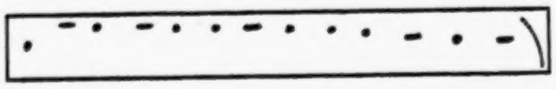
The mid/high-falling terminal /↑/ occurs in questions without interrogative particle. It is preceded by a descending pitch-contour, in which the downward trend of the stressed syllables ultimately reaches the mid level, e.g.,

Machúngwa yameíva?



'Are the oranges ripe yet?'

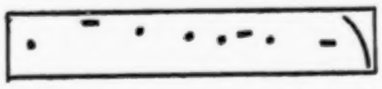
Watóto wáke watátu watakwénda sása?



'Will his three children go now?'

It is strictly utterance-final, i.e., if a title of address is added to the first example above, it carries the mid/high-falling terminal, e.g.,

Machúngwa yameíva, bába?

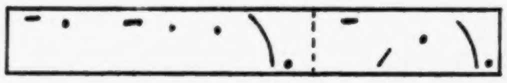


'Are the oranges ripe (yet), Mister?'

Both terminal /↓/ and /↑/ may be affected by an emphatic stress:

(a) with the high/low terminal, it yields a pitch pattern consisting of a level high or high-falling pitch on the stressed penultimate syllable of the emphasized word and a mid-rising pitch on its last syllable, e.g.,

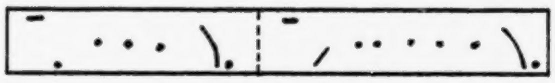
Víle vyúngu vizúri, hi̋vi vibáya.



'Those pots are fine, these are bad'.

When this word is in utterance-initial position, its last syllable may be level low with a rise to the mid level on the first syllable of the following word, e.g.,

Le̋o yapatikána, ja̋na haikupatikána.

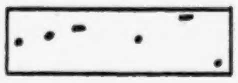


'It is obtainable today, it was not yesterday'.

It should be noticed that in long utterances emphasizing a contrast or an alternative, the first part never shows an ascending pitch-contour.

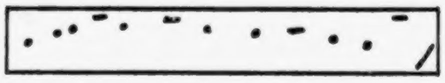
(b) with the mid/high falling terminal, it yields a pitch pattern consisting of a very high stressed penultimate syllable, preceded by a mid level syllable and followed by a low or mid-rising final, e.g.,

Alikúnywa yőte?



'Did he (actually) drink everything?'

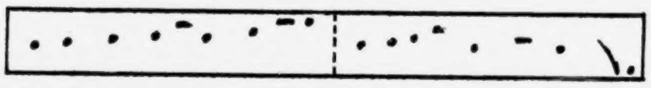
Hakuuáwa háta sungúra mdőgo?



'Not even a small hare was killed?'

The high sustained terminal /|/ is strictly non-final, i.e., it occurs only at major pauses in long utterances, especially sentences consisting of more than one clause, and marks the continuity of speech after the relevant syntactic boundary. It is always characterized by an ascending pitch-contour starting at mid level and rising progressively to final high pitch, e.g.,

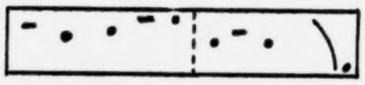
Nikimwandikía barúa, nitaulíza kísa híki.



'If I write a letter to him, I will ask about this matter'.

It also frequently sets off a non-verbal word-group, e.g., a locative phrase as in

Húmu dakáni haḿna kítu.



'There is nothing inside this recess'.

The following pitch-contour starts at a lower level.

2.1.5.2.3. A more detailed analysis would show the occurrence of more differentiated pitch patterns in Swahili. Thus, an alternate form of the non-final terminal sometimes appears in *lento* speech and oral reading when it marks the end of a noun phrase functioning as subject; the non-final terminal is then characterized by a dropping of the pitch from high to mid on the final syllable of the last word of the noun phrase; the following verb phrase then starts on a slightly higher pitch after a very brief pause.

2.1.5.3. The phonemic status of quantity is disputable in Swahili. As regards vowel length, it might be considered as phonemic in the speech of those who contrast [a] : ['a:] in *kúja* 'to come' versus *kujáa* 'to get full', or [a̟] : ['a̟:] in *kúfa* 'to die': *kufáa* 'to be useful'. However, this contrast between short and long vowel phonemes remains restricted to /a/ and has a very limited functional yield. Moreover, phonemically, the long ['a:] or ['a̟:] can more plausibly be described as a geminate vowel phoneme /aa/, of which the first component carries the word-stress. It is therefore similar to the /ée/, which occurs in isolated forms like kulee [ḵʊ'lɛ̝:·] 'faraway yonder', characterized by a special 'quantitative' stress with high pitch. Besides, in the speech of most cultivated Swahili speakers the two a's of -faa, -jaa, etc., are actually separated by a syllable boundary which corresponds to a /-/ juncture, so that vowel length is exclusively connected with stress conditions and strictly non-phonemic in their speech.

As for the distribution of long and half-long allophones of the vowel phonemes carrying the word-stress, it is strictly phonologically conditioned, the half-long variant appearing before nasal clusters, e.g., baba 'father' ['ɓa̱:ɓɑ̟] : bamba 'flat piece of metal' ['ɓa̱·mbɑ̟]; liga 'poison' ['li:ɠɑ̟] : linga 'make equal, level' ['lɪ·ŋgɑ̟]; etc.

Similarly, consonant length has also been assumed to be phonemic on the basis of a few minimal pairs like uma 'bite': umma 'nation', but the contrasts are restricted to the cases where Arabic loans with original double consonant occur alongside Bantu words consisting of the same segmental phonemes. Since the original Arabic double consonant is usually ignored in Swahili, the long consonant in those loans may be nothing but a sophisticated Arabized pronunciation, comparable to the lengthening which occurs sporadically with the emphatic stress, e.g., in ha̋ta kidógo 'not at all' ['hɑ̟t¦ta].

2.1.5.4. Beside the major junctures describable as final and non-final terminals, there are two more junctures in Swahili:

(a) a phonemic word-juncture /+/;

(b) an internal juncture /-/, corresponding to a syllable boundary.

The presence of /-/ can be established by such evidence as dissyllabic /mbovu/ ['mbɔ̝:vʊ]: trisyllabic /m-bovu/ [ɱ'ɓɔ̝:vʊ] in ndizi mbovu 'rotten banana' versus mti mbovu 'rotten tree'. However, /-/ mainly marks the hiatus between vowels; in this position, it may alternate with non-phonemic segments like [ʲ] and [ʷ] (cf. 2.1.2.4.) or like [ʕ] in Arabic loanwords, e.g., in *msaada* 'help', from Arabic /saʕada/.

2.2. *Morphology*

Morphology is the most complex part of Swahili grammar. After a survey of the main morphophonemic rules, a description of themes, words, and complexes will be given under the respective headings of derivation, inflection, and complex structures.

2.2.1. *Morphophonemics: Vowels*

Morphophonemic changes involving vowel phonemes occur in contact or at a distance. The most common change in contact is contraction, to which devocalization can be added.

2.2.1.1. The following processes occur in the case of contraction:

- (a) /a/ + /a/ → /a/ (total assimilation, with loss of one *mora*);[18]
- (b) /a/ + /e/ → /e/ (regressive assimilation, with loss of one *mora*);
- (c) /a/ + /o/ → /o/ (regressive assimilation, with loss of one *mora*);
- (d) /a/ + /i/ → /e/ (reciprocal assimilation, with the intermediate mid front vowel *e*--with only one mora--resulting from the assimilation process, upward from /a/ and downward for /i/).

The occurrence of these processes is not automatic, but subject to certain environmental and morphological restrictions:

- (1) with the {wa}, {ma} and {pa} nominal class-prefixes, contraction occurs before initial /a/, /e/ and /i/ of the following morpheme, except:
  - (a) when this morpheme is a borrowing from a non-Bantu language (especially Arabic loans with initial [ʕ] or [ʔ]);
  - (b) when this morpheme is a verbal root, stem or theme, especially the agentive suffixes {i} and {aɟi}:

  Examples are:

  wana 'children', from {wa} + {ana};
  wenyewe 'companions', from {wa} + {eɲewe};

mema 'good', from the adjective {ema} with {ma} class concord;

pengi 'many', from the possessive {iŋgi} with {pa} class concord;

meno 'teeth', from {ma} + {ino};

versus:

waashi 'bricklayers', from the verbal root {ak} 'build (with bricks)';

waalimu 'teachers', plural of *mwalimu*, from Arabic /muʕallim/;[19]

waimbaji 'singers', from the verbal root {imb} 'sing';

waingereza 'Englishmen', from {wa} + {iŋgereza}, from Portuguese *inglês*;

maasi 'rebellion', versus {asi} 'rebel', from Arabic /ʕaaṣi/;

maembe 'mangoes', from {ma} + {embe} from Hindi/Gujrati /ããb/ 'mango';

maisha 'life' (versus {iši} 'last, live') from Arabic /maʕiiša/.[20]

In the case of *wevi* 'thieves', from {wa} + {ivi}, native speakers are apparently no longer conscious of the connection with the verbal stem *iba* 'steal'.[21]

(2) contraction is restricted to /a/ + /e/ and /a/ + /i/ in adjectival concord with the prefixes {wa} and {ma}, e.g., *wageni wengi* 'many strangers', *mawe mekundu* 'red stones', but *maisha maovu* 'evil living';

(3) contraction of /a/ + /o/ occurs only with the class-prefix {wa}: (a) in pronominal use before the referential particle {o}, e.g., *hawa* 'these (people)': *hao* 'these (people under reference)', from *hawa* + {o}, with contraction of /wa/ + /o/ to /wo/ and loss of /w/ before /o/ after vowel (cf. parallel *huu* : *huo* from *huwo*); (b) in the pronominal form *wote* 'all'. Elsewhere, /wa/ is preserved before initial /o/, e.g., *waokozi* 'saviors', from the verbal stem *okoa* 'save'.[22]

(4) similarly, contraction occurs in pronominal use before the referential particle {o} and the pronominal stem {ote} 'whole, all' for the class-prefixes {ja} and {pa}, e.g., *haya* 'these (under reference)', *yote* 'all', for nouns belonging to the {ma} class; *ndipo* 'it is there'; *po pote* 'anywhere'.

2.2.1.2. As regards devocalization, it affects the /i/ and /u/ vowel phonemes before initial vowel of the following morpheme. In this environment, they are, as a rule, realized respectively as [j] and [w] and become part of the /j/ and /w/ phonemes. However, the class-prefix {u} appears as /u-/, realized as ['u:] followed by a syllable boundary before initial vowel of monosyllabic nominal stems, e.g., *ua* 'enclosure, fence', *uo* 'cover, sheath'. This allomorph /u-/--realized as [ʊ] followed by a syllable boundary-- also occurs before initial vowel of polysyllabic nominal stems, but its distribution versus the allomorph /w/--realized as [w]--is apparently neither phonologically nor morphologically conditioned before /a/, /e/, /i/ and /o/, except for the isolated case of the noun *uati* 'pole (on top of the walls)': (plural) *mbati*, in whose stem-initial the juncture /-/ alternates with the reflex of /w/ after a {n} prefix. Elsewhere, forms with *u-* are found side by side with forms with *w-*, e.g., *uonyo* 'warning, exhortation' from the causative of the verbal root {on} 'see' versus *wonyesho* 'showing, demonstration' from the causative of the stative of the same root; *uendo* 'motion' from the verbal root {end} 'go' is in free variation with *wendo*, but only *wenzo* 'roller' (from the original causative theme *enz-* < {end} + {j}) occurs, etc. Similarly, *wozo* 'decay' from the verbal root {oz} 'rot' contrasts with *uozi* 'marriage' from the verbal root {o(l)} 'marry'; *weu* 'clearing, open space' (plural *nyeu*) contrasts with *uele* 'sickness' (plural *maele*). There is no example of initial *w-* before /u/; hence, e.g., *uuaji* 'savagery, massacre' : *mwuaji* 'murderer, slayer' from the verbal root {u(l)} 'kill'.

On the other hand, before the referential particle {o}, the pronominal class-prefix {u} is reflected by a zero allomorph, e.g., in the {u} class and in the {m} class for non-autonomous individualized beings, where such forms as the following occur: wa 'of'; wake 'his'; wote 'whole, all', but huo 'this (under reference)' versus huu 'this'; nao 'and it' from {na} + {u} + {o}. Similarly, postconsonantal /u/ is always reflected by zero before the referential particle {o}.

Besides, there are further environmental and morphological restrictions to the devocalization of /u/:

(a) when used before a verbal stem in the infinitive, the class prefix {ku} is as a rule separated by a syllable boundary from the following morpheme. If this morpheme has a vocalic initial, /ku/ is accordingly realized as [k̲ʊ],[23] e.g., kuandika 'to write', kuiga 'to imitate', kuona 'to see', kuuza 'to sell'; however, a few verbs show the expected morphophonemic change of /ku/ to /kw/ before vowel, namely kwenda 'to go', kwisha 'to finish', kwanza 'to begin'. In adjectival concord, the allomorph /kw/ of the class prefix {ku} appears regularly before a vowel, e.g., kusoma kwema 'good reading'; the same applies to the prefix {ku} in pronominal use, except before /o/, where a /k/ allomorph, realized as [k̲] always occurs if the {ku} prefix functions as a locative, e.g., kuimba kwetu 'our singing', twende kwingine 'let us go in another direction', kwao 'at their (home)', but ko kote 'in every direction'. If {ku} is the concord prefix of the infinitive, its allomorph /kw/, realized as [k̲w] appears before {ote} 'all', e.g., kusoma kwote[24] 'all reading', but not in kuandika ko kote 'any writing whatsoever'.

(b) The locative prefix {mu} is reflected by its allomorph /mw/ before vowel. Accordingly, before {ote} 'whole, all', it appears as /mw/ when it is used along with a -ni locative, e.g., in ulimwenguni mwote 'throughout the world', but in the complex mo mote 'anywhere', its allomorph /m/ appears just as before the referential particle {o}.

(c) The pronominal prefix of the 1st person plural {tu}, functioning as a subject, is regularly represented by its allomorph /tw/ before the tense-marker {a}, e.g., twasema kiingereza 'we speak English'. When it functions as an object prefix, the occurrence of its allomorph /tw/ seems to be stylistically conditioned. Indeed, the pronominal object-prefix of the 2nd person singular {ku} and 1st person plural {tu} are commonly reflected by [k̲w] and [tw] before /a/ and /i/ in colloquial speech (especially in Zanzibar), e.g., nilikuita [nɪlɪ'k̲wi:ta̲] 'I called you', ametuambia [ametwɑ'mbi:ʲa] 'he has told us'. There is more hesitation between [ʊ] and [w] in the same prefixes before /e/, e.g., in umetueleza 'you have explained to us', where the pronunciation [tʊ] is definitely preferred. In more formal speech as well as in the current usage of the older generation (e.g., in Tanga), /u/ is always realized as [ʊ] often followed by a [ʷ] glide, e.g., in alituita [alɪtʊ'ʷi:ta̲] 'he called us'.

In the case of postconsonantal /i/, some further complication results from the morphophonemic change of /k/ before [j]:

(1) The class prefix {ki} appears as a rule as /c/, realized as [t̲š̲] before nominal stems with initial vowel, except before /i/ where it appears as /ki-/, realized as [kɪ] followed by a syllable boundary, e.g., chandalua 'mosquito net', cheti 'note, ticket', chombo 'implement, utensil', chumba 'room', but kiini 'yolk, kernel'.[25]

In adjectival concord {ki} is reflected by its allomorphs /c/ before /a/, /e/, /o/, /ki-/ before /u/, and /k/ before /i/, e.g., kitu chepesi 'a light (not heavy) object', kijana kiume 'a young man', kiti kingine 'another chair' (in Mombasa, however, kiti chengine). Similarly, {ki} is reflected by /c/ in pronominal use, e.g., in changu 'mine', chenyewe 'itself', cho chote 'anyone', applying to members of the {ki} class.

However, {ki} always appears as /ki-/ when used as object prefix in a verbal complex, e.g., *umekiona* 'have you seen it?' The same applies to the {ki} tense-marker, e.g., *paka akiondoka panya hutawala* 'when the cat is away, the rats hold sway'.

(2) The treatment of the class-prefix {vi} is parallel to the treatment of the prefix {ki}: its allomorph /vj/ occurs in those environments in which the allomorph /c/ of {ki} appears, e.g., *vyandalua* 'mosquito nets', *vyeti* 'tickets', *vyombo* 'utensils', *vyumba* 'rooms', *viini* 'kernels'; *vitu vyepesi* 'light objects', but *vijana viume* 'young men', *vitu vingine* (Mombasa *vyengine*) 'other things'; *vyangu* 'ours' *vyenyewe* 'themselves', *vyo vyote* 'any whatever'.

(3) In the class-prefix {mi}, no devocalization of /i/ ever takes place before an initial vowel of the following noun,[26] e.g., *miaka* 'years', *miezi* 'months', *miili* 'bodies', *mioto* 'fires', *miundu* 'billhooks', but in adjectival concord devocalization occurs before /e/ and /o/, e.g., *miti myema* 'good trees', whereas /i/ + /i/ yields /i/ in *miwa mingi* 'many sugar-canes'.

(4) The class-prefixes {zi} and {li} in pronominal concord only show contraction before /a/, /e/, /o/, e.g., *nyembe zake* 'his razors', *funguo zetu* 'our keys', *kuni zote* 'all the firewood'; *shoka langu* 'my axe', *shamba letu* 'our plantation', *tunda lo lote* 'any fruit whatever'.

(5) Contraction similarly occurs in the pronominal prefix {ni} of the 1st person singular before the tense-marker {a}, i.e., {ni} + {a} → /na/, e.g., in *nasoma* 'I read'; a new contraction can occur when the following verbal stem has an initial /e/, e.g., *n(a)enda* 'I go'. In current speech {ni} also appears as /n-/, realized as [ŋ̩], before the tense-marker {na}, e.g., [ŋna'kwɛ̱·nda̱] for *n(i)nakwenda* 'I am going'.

2.2.1.2.1. A special case is that of the nominal class-prefix {m} which appears as syllabic /m-/ before initial consonant of the following morpheme (cf. 2.2.2.1). This prefix shows an allomorph /mu/ which occurs:

(a) before the initial /u/ of the following morpheme in Muúmba 'Creator'; apart from this isolated case, the allomorph /mw/ is generally used before /u/ when applying to persons conceived as autonomous individualized beings, e.g., mwuaji 'murderer', mwundi 'constructor (in woodwork)', mwuza 'seller', etc. There are also a few isolated cases of /mu/ before /u/, when applying to nouns of action or parts of the body, e.g., muundi (wa mguu) 'shin' (forming a contrastive minimal pair with mwundi (= mwundaji) 'constructor (in woodwork)'); muungo 'joining together, joint' (in free variation with mwungo);

(b) before initial /h/ in the names of the plants muhindi 'corn' and muhogo 'maize'.

However, the same prefix is represented by its allomorph /mw/:

(a) before initial vowel of the following morpheme, when applying to persons conceived of as autonomous individualized beings, e.g., in Mwarabu 'Arab', mwenzi 'companion', mwimbaji 'singer', mwoga 'coward';

(b) before /a/, /e/ and /i/ only, when applying to non-autonomous beings, like trees, plants and other concepts, e.g., in mwaka 'year', mwezi 'moon', mwili 'body', as contrasted with moyo 'heart', mundu 'billhook', with the allomorph /m/.

However, a series of nouns of action derived from verbal roots and themes with initial /o/ and /u/ show the allomorph /mw/, e.g., mwogofyo 'threatening', mwosho 'washing', mwundo 'shape, form', etc. Note also the occurrence of /mw/, in mwonzi 'sunbeam' and mwuo 'sharp pointed stick (to dig holes)'; mwongo 'number' and mwunzi 'whistling' are ordinarily used in the plural. In the case of adjectival concord, the allomorph /mw/ occurs before /a/, /e/, /i/ and /o/, e.g., mtu mwangavu 'a quick-witted person', mzigo mwepesi 'a light load', moshi mwingi 'much smoke', mji mwovu 'a bad (wicked) town', but the prefix is represented by its allomorph /m/ before /u/ in mume 'male'.

Similarly, the pronominal subject prefix of the 2nd person plural {m} and the pronominal object prefix of the 3rd person singular {m} which appear as syllabic /m-/ before initial consonant of the following morpheme, show an allomorph /mw/ before verbal stems with vocalic initial, as well as before the tense-marker {a}, e.g., *hamwanguki* 'you do not fall', *umemwona* 'have you seen him?', *nitamwambia* 'I will tell her', *nilimweleza* 'I explained to him', *mwandika barua nyingi* 'you write many letters'. Some speakers, however, use [mu] instead of [mw] before initial /u/, saying, e.g., [nɪlɪmʊ|ʊ'li:za] for *nilimwuliza* 'I asked him'.

2.2.1.3. Morphophonemic change at a distance is evidenced in Swahili by the *vowel harmony* between roots or stems and their affixes. In the verbal system, it affects the suffixes containing the front high and mid vowels /i/ and /e/: in such suffixes, the high vowel will be found when the verbal stem contains /a/, /i/ or /u/, and the mid vowel when it contains /e/ or /o/, e.g., in the derivations from {za-} 'bear': *zalia*, *zaliwa*, *zalisha*, *zalika*; from {pig} 'beat': *pigia*, *pigiwa*, *pigika*; from {fund} 'instruct': *fundisha*, *fundishwa*; from {end} 'go': *endea*, *endesha*, *endeka*; from {on} 'see': *onea*, *oneka*, *onyesha*, etc.

There are some restrictions to this rule:

(a) In verbs of Arabic origin, the mid vowel in the suffix only appears after a stem with /e/, e.g., in the derivations from {samehe} 'forgive': *samehea*, *sameheka*, *samehewa*, whereas from {hofu} 'fear', we get *hofia*, *hofika*, *hofiwa*, *hofisha*, etc.

(b) In monosyllabic verbs, both the high and the mid vowel occur in the suffix without apparent motivation, e.g., /i/ in the derivations from {l} 'eat': *lia*, *liwa*, *lika*, *lisha*, but /e/ in the derivations from {c} 'fear': *chea*, *chewa*, or {p} 'give': *pewa*, *peka*.

Similarly, in the suffixes containing the back high and mid vowels /u/ and /o/, the high vowel will be found when the verbal stem contains /a/, /e/, /i/ or /u/, and the mid vowel when it contains /o/, e.g., in *kamua* 'wring' from {kam} 'squeeze', *pindua* 'overturn' from {pind} 'bend', *fungua* 'untie' from {fung} 'tie', *levuka* 'get sober' from {lew} 'be drunk', but *chomoa* 'draw out' from {com} 'pierce'. This vowel assimilation at a distance is also operative in new derivations from derived verbal themes, but in this case the vowel of the thematic suffix determines the coloration of the vowel of the additional affixes, e.g., in derivations from *pendana* 'love each other' and *epuka* 'avoid', like *pendanisha*, *pendanishwa*, and *epukia*, *epukisha*, versus *pendea*, *pendeza*, directly from {pend} 'love', and *epea*, *epeka*, *epesha*, directly from {ep} 'dodge'.

2.2.2. Morphophonemics: Consonants

Morphophonemic changes involving consonant phonemes occur in contact: they are essentially (1) syllabicity of nasals before obstruents and resonants; (2) assimilation processes affecting consonants preceded by a nasal or followed by /i/, /j/, /u/ or /w/.

2.2.2.1. Syllabic /m-/ realized as [m̩] occurs before consonants other than /j/ and /w/:

(a) initially:

  (1) as allomorph of the class-prefix {m}, e.g., in *mke* 'wife', *mganga* 'medicine-man', *mjumbe* 'messenger, representative', *mchezo* 'game, pastime', *mmea* 'plant', *mnunuzi* 'buyer', customer', *mlango* 'door';

  (2) as allomorph of the class-prefix {n} (cf. 2.2.2.2) before monosyllabic nominal morphemes, e.g., *mvi* 'grey hair', *baiskeli mpya* 'new bicycle';

  (3) as preconsonantal allomorph of the locative prefix {mu}, e.g., *nyumbani mle mna nyoka* 'there is a snake in that house';

(b) initially and medially, as allomorph of the pronominal subject-prefix {m} of the 2nd person plural, e.g., *mmetendwa mengi* 'you have endured a lot', *hamtaki kujibu* 'you do not want to answer';

(c) medially, as allomorph of the pronominal object-prefix {m} of the 3rd person singular, e.g., tutamshangilia 'we will greet him enthusiastically'.

The syllabicity of the /m-/ allomorph of the class-prefix {m} contrasts with the non-syllabicity of the /m/ allomorph of the class-prefix {n}, especially when they function as adjectival class-concords with non-monosyllabic morphemes (cf. 2.1.1.8; 2.1.5.4).[27] Besides, in the dialects where the syllabicity of the nasal has led to the development of a vocalic syllable peak, the allomorphs of {m} and {n} may be distinguished by the timbre of the anaptyctic vowel, e.g., mfalme 'king' (with {m}) is pronounced [mᵁ'fa̲lme], whereas ['ᴵm] is heard in the stressed initial syllable of mbwa 'dog' (with {n}), and [m] remains non-syllabic in the non-stressed initial syllable of mbuzi 'goat' (with {n}).

Syllabic /n-/ and /ŋ-/, realized as [n̩] and [ŋ̩], respectively, occur regularly as allomorphs of the class-prefix {n} before obstruents and, in the case of /n-/, before a nasal, when the prefix precedes a monosyllabic nominal morpheme, e.g., [n̩] in ncha 'point', (ndizi) nne 'four (bananas)'; [ŋ] in ngwe 'measured patch of ground assigned for a task'. Dialectally, the syllabicity is marked by a [ɪ]-colored vocalic peak before the nasal, e.g., in nso 'kidney', pronounced ['ᴵnso]; in case of over-phonetic writing, this vocalic peak may become part of the /i/ phoneme through spelling pronunciation, as in inzi 'fly'.

2.2.2.2. In contact with the class prefix {n} the following changes take place in initial position:

(a) /n/ → ∅ before nasals and voiceless obstruents, but:

- (1) /p/, /t/, /k/, /c/ are aspirated;[28]
- (2) before monosyllabic stems, a homorganic syllabic nasal carrying the word stress occurs before /n/, /p/, /t/, /k/, /c/ and /s/, e.g.,
  - mio 'throats' (from {n} + {mio});
  - nene 'fat' (with nouns of the {n} class);
  - nyofu [ɲ] 'straight' (with nouns of the {n} class);

ng'ong'o [ŋ] 'strips of palm leaf' (from {n} + {ŋoŋo});
pepo [pʰ] 'wind' (from {n} + {pepo});
tatu [tʰ] 'three' (with nouns of the {n} class);
chale [t͡šʰ] 'incision' (from {n} + {cale});
kuni [kʰ] 'firewood' (from {n} + {kuni});
fagio 'sweeping brushes' (from {n} + {fagio});
simba 'lion' (from {n} + {simba});
shanga 'beads' (from {n} + {šanga});
hongo 'tribute' (from {n} + {hongo});
nne 'four' (with nouns of the {n} class);
mpya 'new' (with nouns of the {n} class);
nta 'wax';
nchi 'country';
nso 'kidney', etc.;

(b) before the voiced affricate and voiced stops and fricatives, {n} is realized as a homorganic nasal, which--according to 2.1.1.8, 2.1.5.4, and 2.2.2.1--is:
  (1) syllabic before monosyllabic morphemes, e.g., *nge* ['ŋ̩ge] 'scorpion', *mbu* ['m̩bʊ] 'mosquito';
  (2) non-syllabic before adjective stems of more than one syllable, e.g., *mbovu* ['mbɔ̞:vʊ] 'rotten', but can either be non-syllabic or show phonetically less marked syllabicity elsewhere, e.g., in *njia* 'path', *mbegu* 'seed', *ndizi* 'banana', *ngoma* [ŋ] 'drum', *mvua* 'rain', *nzige* 'locust', etc.;

(c) /n/ + /l/ or /r/ → /nd/, e.g., *ndimi* 'tongues' (plural of *ulimi*), *ndefu* (from the adjective {refu} 'tall', with nouns of the {n} class), etc.;

(d) /n/ + /w/ before vowel → /mb/, e.g., *mbili* 'two' (from the numeral {wili} with nouns of the {n} class), *mbati* 'hut-poles' (plural of *uwati*), etc.

The morphophonemic changes (c) and (d) also appear in lexicalized forms where the stem used to have an initial *l*, *r* or *w*, presently replaced by a /-/ juncture, e.g., in *ndoto* 'dream' versus *kuota* /ku-ota/ 'to dream'; *nduli* 'killer' versus kuua /ku-úa/ 'to kill'; mboni 'pupil of the eye' versus kuona /ku-ona/ 'to see'. Irregular forms like dume in mabata dume 'drakes', or doublets like -ovu 'evil' in mtu mwovu 'an evil man' and -bovu in mti mbovu 'rotten tree', may also reflect such a situation in which the /d/ of dume and the /b/ of -bovu would result from the morphophonemic development of /l/ and /wV/ after /n/ in the {n} class.[29]

(e) /n/ → /ɲ/ before a noun or adjective stem with initial vowel, e.g., in nyama 'meat', nyota 'star', nyuki 'bee'; nyeupe 'white' and nyingi 'much, many' applying to nouns of the {n} class. An exception which cannot be accounted for is njema 'good' instead of *nyema (with nouns of the {n} class).

2.2.2.3. Important morphophonemic changes affect the consonants preceding the derivational suffixes {i} or {j}:

(a) In the case of stops, they produce a series of fricatives through a process of palatalization which brings the point of articulation of the obstruent closer to the point of articulation of /i/ or /j/. The results of this change can be tabulated as follows:

	{i}	{ja}[30]
/p/	fi	fya
/b/	vi (also zi)	
/t/	si	sa (also sha)
/d/	zi	za
/k/	shi	sha
/g/	zi	

Examples are:

mlifi 'payer' from {lip} 'pay'; ogofya 'frighten' from {ogop} 'fear';

mwivi ~ mwizi 'thief' from {ib} 'steal';

mfuasi 'follower' from {fuat} 'follow'; takasa 'cleanse' from {takat} 'be clean'; pisha 'allow to pass' from {pit} 'pass';

mlinzi 'watchman' from {lind} 'guard'; funza 'teach' from the archaic verbal root {fund};

mpishi 'cook' from {pik} 'cook'; *msusi* 'ladies' hairdresser' from {suk} 'plait'; *rusha* 'fling' from {ruk} 'jump'; *chemsha* 'bring to a boil' from {cemk} 'bubble up';

mjenzi 'builder' from {ɟeng} 'build'.

This pattern of assimilation is, however, no longer productive, and quite a few nouns preserve the obstruents before {i}, e.g., *pindi* 'bend' from {pind} 'bend'; *mkopi* 'borrower' from {kop} 'borrow', etc. Besides, several verbs substitute -*isha*, -*esha* or -*iza*, -*eza* for {ja}; in these suffixes, the first vowel, whose quality is determined by vowel harmony, does not affect the preceding obstruent, e.g., *pendeza* 'please' from {pend} 'love'; *lipisha* ~ *lipiza* 'cause to pay' from {lip} 'pay'; *katiza* 'cause to cut' from {kat} 'cut'; *wekesha* 'cause to place' from {wek} 'place, put'; etc.

(b) In the case of nasals, no change occurs before {i}, but before {ja}, the following morphophonemic changes take place: /n/ + /j/ → /ɲ/; /ɲ/ + /j/ → /nz/, e.g., *onya* 'show' from {on} 'see'; *fanza* 'cause to do' from {faɲ} 'do'; but in the case of /ɲ/, secondary derivations like *fanyiza* are more common.

(c) In the case of /l/, a change to /z/ occurs before /i/ and /j/: morpheme-final /l/ + {i} is reflected by /zi/, whereas morpheme-final /l/ + {ja} appears as /za/, e.g., *malazi* 'sleeping arrangements' and *kulaza* 'to cause to sleep', both from {lal} 'sleep'. The same development still occurs in cases where /l/ has been lost in intervocalic position in standard Swahili, though it is retained in some dialects, e.g., *kataza* 'cause to refuse' versus *kataa* 'refuse', from original {katal}; *malezi* 'education' versus *lea* 'educate', from original {lel} 'bring up'; *mlizi* 'he who cries' versus *lia* 'cry', from original {lil}; etc.

(d) A similar situation exists with /w/ before /i/ or /ja/: morpheme-final /w/ + {i} is reflected by /vi/, dialectally /zi/, whereas morpheme-final /w/ + {ja} appears as /vja/, e.g., in the derivations from {lew} 'be drunk': *mlevi* 'drunkard' and *levya* 'make drunk'. The former presence of /w/ is also reflected by the same development in words like *mjuvi* 'know-all' or *mjuzi* 'wise man' versus *jua* 'know'.

2.2.2.4. Morphophonemic changes affect /p/ and /k/ before /u/ in final position, both yielding /fu/, whereas morpheme-final /w/ + {u} is reflected by /vu/, e.g., *upungufu* 'shortage' from *punguka* 'diminish'; the adjective *tovu* 'lacking' reflects */towu/ from *toa* 'lack', in which intervocalic /w/ has been lost. /l/ also used to undergo a morphophonemic change to /v/ before /u/ in final position; hence the derivations in *-vu* from stems where /l/ has been dropped in intervocalic positions, e.g., *ulegevu* 'slackness' from *legea* 'be slack'. The process is no longer productive, and some forms now show free variation between *-fu* and *-vu*, e.g., *wokovu* ~ *wokofu* 'deliverance' from *okoa* 'save'; *mchofu* ~ *mchovu* 'one who is easily tired' from *choka* 'be tired'. However, the suffix form resulting from the morphophonemic change has been lexicalized in the expanded form *-ivu* ~ *-ifu*, now currently used with Arabic loans, e.g. *msahaulivu* ~ *msahaulifu* 'forgetful person' from *sahau* 'forget'.

N.B. The morphophonemic processes affecting obstruents and /l/ before /i/ and /u/ still partly reflect the original environmental allophones of proto-Bantu obstruents before high front and back vowels in Swahili. Numerous lexicalized derivations supply further evidence for these former allophones, which are at present phonemicized:

/pi/ → [fi], e.g., in *mlafi* 'glutton' from the verbal root {lap} 'be hungry', which has been lost in Swahili;

/ti/ → [si], e.g., in *kisima* 'well' from the proto-Bantu nominal theme *{tima} (cf. Kamba *kĩthima* 'well', with voicing and spirantization of intervocalic */t/ to /ð/.

/ki/ → [ši], e.g., in *moshi* 'smoke' from proto-Bantu *{gɔki} (cf. Kamba *jioki* 'smoke') derived from the verbal root *{gɔk}, which occurs in Swahili *ku(k)oka* 'to bake, to cook';

/bi/ → [vi], dialectally [zi], e.g., *ngozi* ~ *ngovi* (Mombasa) 'skin';

/di/ → [zi] (versus /d/ → [l] in intervocalic position), e.g., *mwezi* 'moon', originally 'moonlight', from proto-Bantu */mogɛdi/, derived from the verbal root */gɛd/ 'shine';

/ku/ → [fu], e.g., *mafuta* 'fat' from the proto-Bantu nominal theme *{kuta}, also occurring in Nyamwezi *magutha* (with voicing of */k/ and aspiration of */t/) and Makua *makhura* (with aspiration of */k/ and lenition of intervocalic */t/);

/du/ → [vu], e.g., in the adjective -*bovu* 'rotten': -*ovu* 'evil', both from earlier *-*wovu* (cf. 2.2.2(d)), derived from the Bantu verbal root *{bɔd} 'rot', (cf. Kongo *bola* 'decay'), a derivation of which--*/bɔdia/--is reflected by *kuoza* /ku-oza/ 'to rot' in Swahili.

The reflexes of obstruents before the non-syllabic allophone of the proto-Bantu mid-high front vowel */e/ are different from those of obstruents plus /i/, e.g., before vowel, proto-Bantu */ke/ yields /c/, e.g., in *cheo* 'measure; rank, dignity', from the class-prefix *{ke} + the verbal root *{gɛd} 'measure, consider' + the nominal suffix *{o}, with early loss of the proto-Bantu initial */g/ and later loss of intervocalic /l/ (from proto-Bantu */d/) in Swahili (cf., with preserved /l/, *kueleza* 'to explain').

The change of proto-Bantu */g/ to Swahili /z/ before /i/ is a special development occurring only after nasal; otherwise proto-Bantu */gi/ is reflected by Swahili /ɟi/, e.g., in *maji* 'water', from the proto-Bantu nominal theme *{egi} 'water'; in the reflexive prefix -*ji*- and in the 'augmentative' prefix *ji*-, both from proto-Bantu *{gi}. Before a vowel, however, the class-prefix *{gi} yields /ɟ/ in Swahili, e.g., *joka* 'large snake', *jungu* 'large cooking pot' versus *jito* 'large river' (: *mto* 'river'). Besides, the proto-Bantu class-prefix *{de}, which is normally reflected by {li} in Swahili in the pronominal concord, e.g., hili 'this', lile 'that', with its allomorph /l/ before /a/, /e/ and /o/, e.g., lake 'its', lenu 'yours', ndilo 'this is it', shows three allomorphs with a morphemically conditioned distribution in the nominal concord, namely:

Ø before disyllabic and polysyllabic stems with initial consonant, e.g., shamba 'cultivated field';

/ɟ/ before disyllabic stems with initial vowel, e.g., jambo 'thing, matter', from the verbal root {amb} 'say' (cf. kuambia 'to say to');

/ɟi/ before a monosyllabic stem with initial consonant, e.g., jicho 'eye' (plural macho).

This situation is presumably due to an analogical spread of the distribution of the Swahili reflexes /ɟi/: /ɟ/: Ø of the proto-Bantu prefix *{gi}, used to indicate size, e.g., in jitu 'giant' and kijitu 'dwarf' versus mtu 'man'; in jana 'loutish youth' and kijana 'child, youth' versus mwana 'son, daughter'; in toto 'big, fine child' and kitoto 'infant' versus mtoto 'child'. The falling together of the proto-Bantu class-prefix *{gi} and *{de} also accounts for the adjective concord j- before stems with initial vowel,[31] but, here, it also applies to polysyllabic stems, e.g., in jekundu 'red' versus nouns like elezo 'explanation'. A trace of the original situation is to be found in the variant lingine for jingine 'another'.

From this brief historical note, it appears that practically all the Swahili affricates and fricatives developed from originally predictable allophones of the Bantu voiced and voiceless stops in specific environments; accordingly, Zellig Harris's tentative rephonemicization of such Swahili obstruents as /c/ as a cluster of /k/ plus non-syllabic /i/ hinted rather nicely at the diachronic development of the phoneme, though it is hardly satisfactory on a strictly synchronic level.

2.2.2.5. Synchronically, the juncture /-/ marking a syllable boundary between vowels in hiatus frequently alternates with Ø and with the morphophonemic reflexes of /l/ and /w/. Thus, the verbal root {on} 'see' can appear with or without initial /-/, e.g., in *alituona* 'he saw us', pronounced [alɪtʊ'(ʷ)ɔ̣:na̲] with a syllable boundary or with a non-phonemic [ʷ] glide between /u/ and /o/, versus *alimwona* 'he saw him', pronounced [alɪ'mwɔ̣:na̲], the third syllable consisting of an initial consonant cluster [mw][32] and a long stressed vocalic peak [ɔ̣:], whereas in the {n} class noun *mboni* 'pupil of the eye', /mb/ reflects the morphophonemic change of /n/ + /w/ before vowel (cf. 2.2.2.2(d)). The original presence of an initial /w/ in the Swahili verbal root is furthermore confirmed by the corresponding initial *v-* of the Gunya (or Tikuu) dialect form *-vona*. Similarly, the verbal root {ot} 'dream' appears with or without initial /-/ respectively in *sikuota ndoto* 'I did not dream (a dream)' and *nimemwotea mtu* 'I have dreamt of someone', and shows the reflex of the morphophonemic change of /n/ + /l/ in *ndoto* 'dream' (cf. 2.2.2.2(c)), the original initial /l/ being preserved dialectally as well.

Numerous cases of alternation of /-/ with /l/ are to be found in the verbal roots apparently ending in a vowel: here, the juncture /-/ functions as syllable boundary between the root-final vowel and a following vowel like the *a* of the final suffix of verbal stems, e.g., in *poa* ['pɔ̣:|ɑ] 'become cool, improve (of health)', whereas the /l/ appears regularly before the applicative suffix {E(l)} realized as /e/ or /i/[33] (cf. 2.3.2.3.1), e.g., in *polea* 'improve for'. Moreover, the causative formation /z/ frequently appears as a reflex of /l/ + /j/ (cf. 2.2.2.3(c)), e.g., in *poza* 'make cool, cure, heal' from /pol/ + /ja/. There are only a few parallel cases of verbal roots with final /-/ alternating with /w/, e.g., *jua* 'know', whose obsolete causative *juvya* 'smarten up' still reflects the original root /ɟuw/[34] + /ja/ (cf. 2.2.2.3(d)). Actually, the pattern of alternation established by such sets as:

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(simple verb) (applicative) (causative)
jaa 'get full': *jalia* 'be full up to': *jaza* 'fill';
lia 'cry': *lilia* 'cry to': *liza* 'make cry';
oa 'marry': *olea* 'marry with': *oza* 'give in marriage'
toa 'lay out' (money) : *tolea* 'spend on': *toza* 'collect from',

became productive of analogical sets like:

kataa 'refuse': *katalia* 'refuse to': *kataza* 'forbid',

in which the basic verb *kataa* reflects Arabic /qaṭaʕa/ 'prevent, speak decisively'. Furthermore, morphemic resegmentation of such formations led to the isolation of the suffix allomorph /le/ ~ /li/, which currently derives applicatives from non-Bantu verbal stems in -*au*, e.g., in *dharaulia* from *dharau* 'scorn'. This reinterpretation has been favored by the occurrence of the alternation /-/ before final {a}: /l/ before the applicative {E(l)}, after the final /o/ or /u/ of reversive themes, e.g., in:

(simple verb) (reversive) (applicative of reversive)
choma 'thrust into': *chomoa* 'draw out': *chomolea* 'draw out for, steal';

funga 'fasten': *fungua* 'unfasten': *fungulia* 'unfasten for'.

The original form of the reversive suffix was indeed {Ol} (cf. 2.3.2.3(5), n. 55); this does not only account for the alternation /-/: /l/ in the reversive versus its applicative, but also for the occurrence of /z/ as reflex of /l/ plus the causative suffix {j} in *chomoza* 'come out, appear', or *funguza* 'cause to undo'. Similarly, applicatives in /le/, /li/ (e.g., *ongolea*, *chukulia*) and causatives in /z/ (e.g., *ongoza*, *chukuza*) point to the original presence of /l/ between /o/ or /u/ and the final {a} in verbs like *ongoa* 'guide, lead' or *chukua* 'carry', and indicate that they are actually reversives of the roots {ong} and {cuk} which no longer appear in non-derived formations.

2.3. Derivation

2.3.1. Nominal derivation

Nominal derivation is exclusively 'deverbative', i.e., derived nouns are formed by adding a nominal suffix to a simple verbal root or to a verbal theme already containing one or more derivational suffixes. The nominal derivation suffix accordingly takes the place of the final affix in the relevant verbal stem.

The nominal derivation suffixes of Swahili are:

(a) {i}, 'agentive' suffix, mostly indicating the person or thing performing the action expressed by the verb; nouns derived with it therefore usually belong to the {m} class of autonomous individualized beings, but sometimes also to the {ki} class. Deverbatives in {i} may also express the whole process by which the action is performed. In that case, they take the class-prefix {ma}, expressing totality, or the class-prefix {u}, if the abstract concept of the action as a whole is being emphasized,[35] e.g., *lea* 'bring up, educate' → *mlezi* 'tutor': *malezi* 'upbringing': *ulezi* 'education';[36] *tumika* 'be employed' → *mtumishi* '(paid) servant': *matumishi* 'services': *utumishi* 'service'; *ongoza* 'lead' → *kiongozi* 'leader': *maongozi* 'direction, management': *uongozi* 'leadership'; etc.

The agentive suffix {i}, added to the Bantu verbal derivational suffix *{ag} expressing a constantly repeated action or a habitual state, constitutes the Swahili complex nominal derivational suffix {aɟi}, which indicates more specifically the habitual doer of the action, especially the professional agent, e.g., *winda* 'hunt' → *mwindi* (occasional) hunter': *mwindaji* '(professional) hunter'; *soma* 'read' → *msomi* '(occasional) reader': *msomaji* '(habitual) reader'. With the class-prefix {u}, the suffix {aɟi} expresses the abstract concept of the habitual action, e.g., *omba* 'ask, beg' → *uombaji* 'professional begging'. Occasionally {aɟi} derivations are used with other class-prefixes than {m} applying to autonomous individualized beings, when the involved agent is not a person, e.g., *kinywaji* 'beverage' (: *kunywa* 'to drink'), *mtambaaji* 'creeper (plant)' (: *kutambaa* 'to creep').

Since the verbal derivational suffix *{ag} is no longer productive in Swahili,[37] the deverbative formations -*aji* are usually erroneously analyzed as secondary derivations with a suffix {ɟi} added to the verbal stem as such.

(b) {u} indicates a state; it is therefore mainly used with intransitive verbs and quite commonly with the statives in {k}; with the class-prefix {m}, applying to persons, it indicates 'he who is in a definite state', whereas the state itself is expressed by the use of the class-prefix {u}, e.g., *tulia* 'be quiet' → *mtulivu* 'gentle quiet person': *utulivu* 'calmness'; *tukuka* 'be exalted' → *mtukufu* 'exalted person': *utukufu* 'glory'; etc. Occasionally a connotation of totality is expressed by the use of the class-prefix {ma}, e.g., in *maumivu* 'suffering' (: *uma* 'hurt').[38] Adjectives expressing a state are often formed in the same way, e.g., *kuu* 'great, chief' from *kua* 'grow'; similarly, *gumu* 'hard' is derived from the proto-Bantu verbal root */gom/ 'become dry', and *bivu*[39] 'ripe' reflects proto-Bantu */bedu/, derived from the verbal root */bed/ 'boil' with an original meaning 'well-cooked'. Verbs borrowed from Arabic show the secondary suffix {ivu} ~ {ifu} (cf. 2.2.2.3), e.g., *haribu* 'destroy' → *uharibifu* 'destruction'. Some transitive verbs have {u}, {i}, and {aji} derivations applying to persons, stressing their state or their activity, respectively, e.g., *angalia* 'take care' → *mwangalivu* 'careful, attentive person': *mwangalizi*, *mwangaliaji* 'caretaker, guardian'.

(c) {o} has essentially a double function, indicating (a) the implement which performs the action, and (b) the ultimate result of the action.[40] In the first meaning, it currently occurs with the class-prefix {ki} for objects, but other class-prefixes, such as {u}, {n}, {ɟi}, {ma}, are also occasionally used with such {o} derivations, e.g.,

ziba 'stop up' → *kizibo* 'cork';
funika 'cover' → *kifuniko* 'lid';
fungua 'unfasten' → *ufunguo* 'key';
unda 'construct' → *nyundo* 'hammer';
sikia 'hear' → *sikio* 'ear' (with the zero allomorph of the prefix {ɟi});
lisha 'feed (cattle)' → *malisho* 'pasture, forage', etc.

In the second meaning, the {o} derivations either belong to the {m} class for non-autonomous individualized beings and refer to the material achievement and outcome of the process--or else they are preceded by the class-prefix {ma}, which implies that the process is conceived as a whole;[41] sometimes with a connotation of collective action.

Less frequent is the use of the class prefixes {u} and {n}. Examples are:

enda 'go' → *mwendo* 'journey';
cheza 'play' → *mchezo* 'dance';
shona 'sew' → *mshono* 'seam';
nung'unika 'grumble' → *manung'uniko* 'discontent, grumbling';
patana 'agree' → *mapatano* 'agreement';[42]
ota 'dream' → *ndoto* 'dream' (*nd*- from {n} plus the original initial /l/ of the verbal root);
koma 'reach an aim, stop' → *ukomo* 'end, conclusion';
imba 'sing' → *wimbo* 'song'.

In various cases, both functions may be assumed simultaneously by {o}, e.g., *kumbusha* 'remind' → *ukumbusho* 'memorial': 'remembrance'; *tokea* 'come out' → *matokeo* 'way out': 'outcome'; etc.

(d) {e} is used to form deverbatives expressing passivity; these nominal derivations indicate the person or object undergoing the action and are consequently used with a wide variety of class-prefixes, e.g.,

teua 'choose' → *mteule* 'he who has been chosen (e.g., for leadership)';

tuma 'send' → mtume 'messenger, apostle' (with the prefix {m} of the class of non-autonomous individualized beings, as he acts on behalf of someone else; cf. plural mitume);
kata 'cut' → mkate 'loaf of bread' (literally, 'something to be cut');
umba 'create' → kiumbe 'creature';
peta 'bend' → pete 'ring' ({n} class);
shinda 'conquer' → ushinde 'failure' (literally, 'being vanquished'); etc.

2.3.1.1. Some deverbatives are formed by merely adding a class-prefix to the verbal stem as such, e.g.,

wiwa 'owe' → mwiwa 'debtor';
ganga 'cure' → mganga 'doctor;
tata 'tangle' → matata 'complications';
nywa 'drink' → kinywa 'mouth';
shinda 'conquer' → ushinda 'conquest';
zinga 'go round' → mzinga 'anything of cylindrical shape';
oa 'marry' → ndoa 'marriage' (nd- from {n} plus the original initial /l/ of the verbal root);
lumba 'hunt' → ulumba 'hunting'; etc.

Some of the oldest deverbatives of Swahili belong to this type of formation, as appears from the more archaic forms preserved in them, e.g., kipawa 'gift' from Old Swahili pawa 'be given', still preserved in the Mombasa dialect, but replaced by pewa in current Standard Swahili; njia 'path' from the no longer occurring applicative form *jia versus ja 'come'; etc.

2.3.1.2. As regards composition, only one pattern is very common in Swahili noun-formation: it consists of a syntactic grouping of a deverbative, formed by adding a class-prefix to the mere verbal stem (cf. 2.3.1.1) plus the direct object of the verb, e.g., mwuza samaki 'fishmonger' (: uza 'sell') or kifunga bei 'deposit' (to make the price agreed upon binding). The two constituents of these groups are linked together into one nominal compound by the phonemic word-stress on the penultimate of the second constituent, the penultimate of the first receiving only a weaker, non-phonemic, secondary stress (cf. 2.1.5.1). The first constituent belongs to the {m} class when it indicates the agent, and to the {ki} class when it indicates the instrument of the process denoted by the verbal stem. In some cases, the unity of the phonological word containing the two constituents of the nominal compound is marked off by the further weakening of the secondary stress, e.g., mlariba 'usurer' from la 'eat' and riba 'interest' with the class-prefix {m}; chamshakinywa 'breakfast' from amsha 'awaken' and kinywa 'mouth' with the class-prefix {ki}. However, in such cases the functional relation between the two constituents may be different, e.g., in mlandege, name of a parasite found on clove-trees (ficus natalensis), meaning 'food for birds' (and not 'bird-eater') from la 'eat' and ndege 'bird', with the class-prefix {m}; kifauwongo, name of the sensitive plant, from fa 'die' and uwongo 'lie', i.e., 'pretending it is dying' with the class-prefix {ki}.

Beside this type of nominal compounds, Swahili also shows:

(a) A few typical compounds with {ana} 'son, daughter' as first immediate constituent of the compound; the second element does not take the class-prefix if it is a noun, but it shows adjectival concord if it is an adjective. The latter forms must nevertheless be considered as constituting one phonological word, since they carry only one word-stress on the penultimate syllabic. Examples are:

mwanafunzi 'learner', plural wanafunzi (funzi being a deverbative in {i} from funza 'teach');

mwanachama 'member', plural wanachama (chama meaning 'association');

mwanamimba 'ailment of the womb' (mimba being an {n} class noun meaning 'pregnancy'), as contrasted with mwanamke 'woman', plural wanawake, and mwanamume 'man', plural wanaume, containing the adjectival stems {ke} 'female' and {ume} 'male'; however, the plural, wanaume, does not show the adjectival concord.

(b) Sporadic formations with the adjective *kuu* 'big, distinguished', appearing under the contracted form [kʊ] as first immediate constituent, e.g., in *mkufunzi* 'skilled apprentice', *mkulima* 'cultivator' (: *lima* 'cultivate'); the older form of the adjective **kuru* (from proto-Bantu */kodo/) is still preserved in *mkurugenzi* 'leader, pioneer', in which *genzi* is the {i} deverbative from **genda*, the older form of *enda* 'go'.

(c) In many cases the second of two nouns in juxtaposition functions as a determinative, adding a definite specification to the first, e.g., *gugu mwitu* 'forest-weed' (wild plant resembling corn tare); *askari kanzu* 'plainclothes policeman' (: *kanzu* 'caftan'); *sukari mchanga* 'powdered sugar' (: *mchanga* 'sand'); etc.

In recent years, composition has been resorted to on a much larger scale to meet the need for specific cultural terms in an increasingly urbanized society. Only a few new patterns have developed, e.g., the use of the agentive *mfanyi* 'doer' with the name of the relevant object or product to indicate names of professions like *mfanyi saa*, apparently a loan-translation of English 'watch-maker' on the model of *mfanyi kazi* 'worker'.[43]

2.3.1.3. Reduplication occurs occasionally in nominal derivation for the sake of expressiveness; it can, however, only be considered as a procedure of word-formation when the repeated stem actually constitutes one complex morpheme characterized by the word-stress on the penultimate syllabic and preceded by the relevant class-prefix, e.g., *kizunguzungu* 'giddiness'.

2.3.2. *Verbal derivation*

Though rather complex rules may be involved, verbal derivation proceeds according to predictable patterns, the verbal root being followed by one or more suffixes in a definite order. At certain levels of derivation, roots enlarged with one or more suffixes may serve as basis for a new string of derivatives; such forms are called verbal themes, e.g., from the root {pig} 'beat', Swahili derives the passive *pigwa* 'be beaten', the applicative *pigia* (also *pigilia*), the causative *pigisha*, and the reciprocal *pigana*, but in turn /pigi/, /pigili/, /pigiš/, /pigan/ are used as themes for further derivations like the passives *pigiwa*, *pigiliwa*, *pigishwa*, the causative *piganisha*, from which, again, a passive *piganishwa* is derived.

2.3.2.1. The basic pattern of the Swahili root consists of an initial consonant, a vowel, and a final consonant, e.g., {kat} 'cut', {cek} 'laugh', {tum} 'send', {lew} 'get drunk', etc. The following variants to this basic pattern {CVC}[44] may occur:

(a) {CwVC}, e.g., {twet} 'pant', {mwag} 'spill'; etc.

(b) {CVNC}, e.g., {vimb} 'swell', {fung} 'fasten', {tend} 'do'; etc.

as well as the combination of both in {CwVNC}, e.g., in {twang} 'clean (by pounding in a mortar)'. The root-types with final /-/, alternating with /l/ or with the morphophonemic reflexes of /w/ and /l/ in derivation, can also be considered variants of this basic pattern {CVC}, namely {CV-}, e.g., in {li-} 'cry', {ɟu-} 'know', {va-} 'wear';[45] etc., and {CwV-}, e.g., in {twa-} 'take', {kwe-} 'go up', etc. The aberrant root-types with initial vowel are originally[46] reflexes of the basic pattern {CVC} as well, as appears from dialectal forms like Hadimu (Makunduchi) *lola* for *oa* 'marry', *lapa* for *apa* 'swear an oath', *wacha* for *acha* 'leave off'. However, synchronically, they should be listed separately, like the roots consisting of merely a consonant. Examples are:

{C} in {p} 'give', {f} 'die', {c} 'dawn' or 'fear', {ɟ} 'come', {l} 'eat', {ɲ} 'fall (like rain)', and {w} 'be';

{V-}, e.g., {o-} 'marry', {u-} 'kill'.

{VC}, e.g., {um} 'hurt', {on} 'see', {ib} 'steal'; etc.

{VNC}, e.g., {end} 'go', {imb} 'sing', {ung} 'join'; etc.

Swahili also used to have several verbal roots with the nonsyllabic /j/ after initial consonant, but the clusters of obstruents plus /j/ have usually been eliminated and replaced by fricatives, e.g., in Zanzibar Swahili, as well as in the written standard, *vyaa* and *fyoma* have been replaced by *zaa* 'bear, give birth', and *soma* 'read', respectively, but they still survive in the spoken language in kiMvit̲a, kiAmu and kiTumbatu. Besides, even in kiUnguja some isolated forms of the earlier state still occur, e.g., *fyonza* 'suck', versus the Northern dialect form *sond̲a* [n̪d̪] (with dental nasal and stop), actually a causative formation from the proto-Bantu root */piɔng/ 'squeeze out' (cf. Kongo *fyonguna* 'press out').

2.3.2.2. Some roots also show a reduplicated form, namely when expressing an action implying the repetition of the same process. This reduplication is restricted to the initial consonant and the following vowel, e.g., in *pepeta* 'sift, winnow', *gogota* 'tap', *tetema* 'tremble', *papasa* 'grope about', etc.

2.3.2.3. The derivational processes of Swahili verbal themes involve the following suffixes:

(1) {E} (The symbol E represents the front vowel morphophoneme, realized either as /i/ or as /e/ according to the rules of vowel harmony; cf. 2.2.1.3.)[47]

The basic form of this suffix is {El}, but its /l/ is usually lost in intervocalic position, except when a reduplicated form of the suffix is used, i.e., {ElEl}, realized as -*ili*- or -*ele*- before final vowel, e.g.,

acha 'leave' → *achia* 'leave to someone' → *achilia* 'pardon';
fika 'arrive' → *fikia* 'reach someone', reinforced to *fikilia* 'get right here'.

In roots and themes ending in a vowel followed by /-/, an allomorph of the suffix with initial /l/, i.e., -*li*- ∼ -*le*-, apparently occurs, e.g.,

twaa 'take' → *twalia* 'get hold of';
chukua 'carry' → *chukulia* 'carry for someone';
ondoa 'take away' → *ondolea* 'deprive of'.

This /l/, alternating with /-/, however, actually belongs to the relevant root or theme (cf. 2.2.2.5),[48] but morphemic resegmentation has led to the reinterpretation of -*li*- ∼ -*le*- as an allomorph of the suffix, which then occurs regularly after non-Bantu verbal stems in -*au*, e.g., *sahau* 'forget' → *sahaulia*. The essential function of the {E(1)} suffix is to express the *direction of the action from the doer towards some person or object*; it therefore expresses various connotations like purpose or finality. This idea of carrying the action up to its eventual completion is especially stressed in the case of a reduplicated suffix-form, e.g.,

kata 'cut' → *katilia* 'cut right off';
shinda 'press' → *shindilia* 'ram down';
enda 'go' → *endelea* 'progress'.

Most commonly, however, {E(1)} is used as *applicative* or *benefactive* to indicate to whom the verbal process applies, or in whose favor or on whose behalf the action takes place, e.g.,

nimemwambia maneno yale 'I have said those words to him';
ulimsomea mashairi yako 'you read him your poems';
mwalimu aliwakasirikia wanafunzi wake 'the teacher was angry with his pupils'.

This accounts for its use with the reflexive prefix {ɟi}, e.g., *tutajijengea nyumba nzuri* 'we shall build a beautiful house for ourselves'.

As regards the distribution of its allomorphs, {E(1)} is used as:

(a) An additive morpheme with verbal roots or themes of Bantu origin with final consonant, e.g.,

{let} 'bring' → *lete[a* 'bring to';
{omb} 'beg' → *ombe[a* 'intercede for';
{pat} 'get' → *pati[a* 'get for';
{andik} 'write' → *andiki[a* 'write to';
{anguk} 'fall' → *anguki[a* 'fall on'.

(b) A replacive morpheme with verbal stems of non-Bantu origin with final *u*; in the case of final *i* or *e*, contraction takes place, e.g.,

jibu 'answer' → *jibi[a* 'answer to';
rudi 'return' → *rudi[a* 'return to';
samehe 'forgive' → *samehe[a* 'forgive for'.

After a vowel, in verbal roots and themes of Bantu origin, the occurrence of -*le*- or -*li*- usually reflects the original final /l/ of the verbal root or theme involved, so that the suffix is used here as an additive morpheme as well, e.g., in:

{fa-} 'be useful' → *fali[a* 'be useful for';
{li-} 'cry' → *lili[a* 'cry for';
{po-} 'improve (of health)' → *pole[a* 'heal';
{u-} 'kill' → *uli[a* 'kill for';
{ingi-} 'enter' → *ingili[a*;[49]
{fungu-} 'pen' → *funguli[a*; etc.

Besides the already mentioned occurrence of -*li*- after -*au* in Arabic loans, there are a few cases of analogical use of -*li*- ~ -*le*- in Bantu verbs, e.g., in the applicative theme {ɟuli} from {ɟu(w)} 'know' reflected by *juliwa*, *julika*, *julisha*, etc. (*julia* itself is rather uncommon in current speech).

(2) {w}

The only function of this suffix is to express the *passive*, e.g., {kat} 'cut' → *katw[a* 'be cut'; {pig} 'beat' → *pigw[a* 'be beaten', etc.

As this suffix cannot bear the stress, an allomorph with the morphophoneme /E/ appears with monosyllabic stems, e.g., *la* 'eat' → *liw[a* 'be eaten', *nywa* 'drink' (root {ɲw}) → *nywew[a* 'be drunk'; *pa* 'give' → *pew[a* 'be given'.[50]

Bantu verbal themes (a) and non-Bantu verbal stems (b) ending in a vowel add the suffix {w} to the applicative theme of the verbs involved, e.g.,

(a) *poke[a* 'receive' → applicative theme {pokele} → *pokelew[a* 'be received';

twa[a 'take' → applicative theme {twali} → *twaliw[a* 'be taken';

chuku[a 'carry' → applicative theme {cukuli} → *chukuliw[a* 'be carried';

ondo[a 'take away' → applicative theme {ondole} → *ondolew[a* 'be taken away';

(b) *jibu* 'answer' → applicative theme {jibi} → *jibiw[a* 'be answered';

dharau 'despise' → applicative theme {ðarauli} → *dharauliw[a* 'be despised'.

In Bantu verbal roots or themes ending in *i* or *e*, the use of the applicative theme in -*li*- ~ -*le*- is, however, merely optional and restricted to verbs which are no longer considered as applicatives by native speakers, e.g.,

{ti} 'put' → *tiw[a* ~ *tiliw[a* 'be put in';

{poke} 'receive' → *pokew[a* → *pokelew[a* 'be received'.[51]

Applicative themes form their passive by the mere addition of {w}, e.g., *somew[a* 'be read to' from *some[a* 'read to', in *alisomewa barua zake* 'his letters were read to him' (literally, 'he was read-to his letters').

(3) {Ek}

This suffix forms the stative verbal theme, which denotes:

(a) a *state* as such (and not the process by which this state was reached, which is the function of the passive in {w}), e.g., *sahaulik[a* 'be forgotten' in *magomvi ya zamani yamesahaulika* 'the quarrels of the past are forgotten';

(b) a *potentiality*, conceived as the possibility for the subject to undergo a definite process, e.g., *lik[a* 'be eatable' in *maembe yake hayaliki* 'his mangoes are not fit for consumption'.

The suffix regularly appears as -*ek*- or -*ik*- according to the rules of vowel harmony (cf. 2.2.1.3) after consonant, e.g.,

{faɲ} 'do' → *fanyik[a* 'be feasible',

{zim} 'quench' → *zimik[a* 'be extinguished',

{tend} 'do' → *tendek[a* 'be practicable'.

It shows an allomorph {k} after mid and high back vowel, e.g., *raruk[a* 'be torn' from {raru} 'tear', *ng'ok[a* 'be uprooted' from {ŋo} 'uproot'. Taking into account that old stative formations show the same /k/ without the morphophoneme /E/ after nasal, e.g., *amka* 'awake', *chemka* 'boil', it might be suggested that the original form of the suffix was {k} and that it gradually tended to appear only after an applicative theme, hence *twalik[a* 'be taken' from {twa-} 'take'; *vunjik[a* 'be broken' from {vunɟ} 'break'; *somek[a* 'be read' from {som} 'read'; etc. This would account for the alternation between *sikik[a* and *sikilik[a* 'be heard, or audible' corresponding to *siki[a* 'hear': (applicative) *sikili[a*, or *ng'ok[a* and *ng'olek[a* 'be uprooted', corresponding to *ng'o[a* 'uproot': (applicative) *ng'ole[a*. However, the second form of these pairs might as well contain the theme-final /l/ alternating with /-/, whose reflex /z/ before /j/ appears, e.g., in the causative *sikiz[a* 'cause to hear'; *sikilik[a* would then be analyzed as consisting of a theme {sikil} plus the stative suffix {Ek}. Similarly, *tembelek[a* 'be suitable for walking', which shows no alternate form **tembek[a*, might as well be analyzed as consisting of a theme {tembel}--also appearing in the causative *tembeza* 'cause to walk about' with /z/ from /l/ plus /j/--with the stative suffix {Ek}.[52]

Since there is a tendency to prefer the expanded form for the expression of potentiality, e.g., *pasu[a* 'split' → stative *pasuk[a* 'be split' → potential *pasulik[a* 'get easily torn', perhaps M. Guthrie[53] is right in assuming the coexistence of two distinct suffixes in Swahili: the stative could then have originally appeared as {k}, and the potential as {Ek}, though present-day Swahili tends to redistribute them according to a phonemically conditioned pattern. Moreover, in some verbs, the original function of the suffix has considerably faded out, so that they merely express a process, most implying putting things in definite positions,[54] e.g., *tand[a* 'extend' → *tandik[a* 'spread out'.

A reduplicated form of the suffix {Ek} occurs with certain verbal roots to indicate that it is hardly possible for the subject to undergo the process involved, e.g., *onekek[a* 'be hardly visible' from the root {on} 'see', in *mwezi unaonekeka leo* 'the moon is just barely visible today'.

(4) {j}

This suffix is essentially used to derive causatives form verbal roots and themes, i.e., it indicates the action which causes the process expressed by the basic verb to take place. Its basic form is {j}, but as numerous morphophonemic changes affect the phonemes in contact with /j/, a number of verbs form their causative with the secondary suffixes {Eš} or {Ez}. This use actually reflects an analogical extension of the use of the causative of the stative in {Ek} (/k/ + /ja/ → [ša]; cf. 2.2.2.3) and of the applicative in {El} (/l/ + /ja/ → [za]; cf. 2.2.2.3), e.g.,

fungisha 'cause to be shut' from *fungik[a* 'be shut', stative of *fung[a* 'fasten';

samehesha 'cause to be forgiven' from *samehek[a* 'be forgiven', stative of *samehe* 'forgive';

katiza 'cause to cut' from *kati[a* 'cut', applicative of *kat[a* 'cut'; etc.

As far as {Eš} is concerned, the origin of the suffix in the analogical extension of the causative of the stative is also confirmed by:

(a) semantic data, e.g., *kopesha* 'lend', actually applying only to acquiescence to borrowing, which clearly points to the potential meaning of the {Ek} theme derived from the root {kop} 'borrow'; a striking case is also the contrast between the two causatives of *ona* 'see', namely *onya* 'warn' (= 'cause to see') and *onyesha* 'show' (= 'cause to be seen');

(b) the derivation of causatives in {Eš} from Arabic adjectives, indicating the process of putting something in the state described by the adjective, e.g.,

safisha 'cleanse', literally 'cause to be clean' from *safi* 'clean';

tayarisha 'make ready' from *tayari* 'ready';

tajirisha 'make rich' from *tajiri* 'rich'; etc.

In a number of cases, however, the use of the suffixes is quite unpredictable, e.g.,

penda 'like' → *pendeza* 'please';

enda 'go' → *endesha* 'drive';

though the use of the secondary suffix may sometimes be structurally compulsory, e.g., in *wezesha* 'enable', since _zy_, from /z/ + /j/ before final vowel, does not occur, and forms like *_wezeza_ are avoided in Swahili.

(5) {O} (The symbol O represents the back vowel morphophoneme, realized either as /u/ or as /o/ according to the rules of vowel harmony; cf. 2.2.1.3.)

The original form of the suffix was {Ol}, but /l/ has been lost intervocalically before the final suffix; it is, however, preserved before the applicative suffix and accounts for the allomorph /z/ of the causative prefix (/z/ ← /lj/; cf. 2.2.2.2(c)), e.g., _pindu[a_ 'turn over' → applicative _pinduli[a_; → causative _pinduz[a_.

The essential function of the {O(l)} suffix is to convey the meaning opposite to that commonly attached to the root; it is therefore usually called _reversive_ or _conversive_, e.g.,

fung[a 'fasten' → _fungu[a_ 'unfasten';
zib[a 'stop up' → _zibu[a_ 'uncork';
teg[a 'set a trap' → _tegu[a_ 'let off a trap';
tat[a 'tangle up' → _tatu[a_ 'put straight, untangle';
chom[a 'prick' → _chomo[a_ 'extract'; etc.

In some cases, however, the semantic content of the basic verb is intensified,[55] instead of being reversed, e.g.,

kam[a 'squeeze' → _kamu[a_ 'squeeze out';
song[a 'press' → _songo[a_ 'wring'.

(6) {am}

This suffix expresses the persistence of a state, i.e., the concept of remaining in a stationary condition. The verbal form derived from it is therefore often described as the _static_ form, e.g., _kwam[a_ 'be jammed' from {kwa-} 'be stopped by sudden obstacles'; _gandam[a_ 'adhere to' from {gand} 'coagulate'; _inam[a_ 'stoop, bend down' from the archaic form _ina_. For some derivations, the basic form is no longer in use in Swahili, e.g., _chutam[a_ 'squat on haunches', _tazam[a_ 'gaze upon, examine'.[56]

(7) {at}

This suffix, added directly to the root, has no clearly definable function, but mostly seems to imply the concept of contact, hence the designation of the form derived with it as _contactive_, e.g., fumbat[a 'enclose with hands and arms' from {fumb} 'shut by bringing things together' (e.g., fumba macho 'close the eyes'); pakat[a 'take (e.g., a child) on one's lap or shoulder' from {pak} 'lay on'; kumbat[a 'hold in the hand' from {kumb} 'press against'; etc.

(8) {an}

This suffix has mainly an associative function and expresses such concepts as reciprocity, concerted action, interdependence, etc., e.g.,

pend[a 'love' → pendan[a 'love each other';
samehe 'forgive' → samehean[a 'forgive one another';
ju[a 'know' → juan[a 'be mutually acquainted';
on[a 'see' → onan[a 'meet';
pig[a 'beat' → pigan[a 'fight'; etc.

In forms borrowed from Arabic and ending in -u or -i, the associative form is derived from the applicative theme, e.g.,

rudi 'return' → applicative theme {rudi-} → rudian[a 'return to each other';
jibu 'answer' → applicative theme {jibi-} → jibian[a 'answer one another'; etc.

There are also some traces of no longer productive suffixes like {p}, which expresses the idea of getting into a definite state, e.g., nenepa 'get fat (of persons)' from the adjective stem {nene} 'stout'; ogopa 'fear' from the root {og(o)} 'easily frightened', also evidenced by mwoga 'coward'.

2.3.2.4. Several suffixes can combine by an agglutinative process to add various connotations to the basic meaning of the root, e.g., piganishwa 'be caused to fight', i.e., passive (-w-) of the causative (-ish-) of the associative (-an-) from the root {pig} 'strike'. There are, however, some specific rules restricting these combinations, e.g.,

(a) some suffixes can only be added directly to the root, namely the suffix {am} of the static form, and the suffix {at} of the contactive form;

(b) no suffix other than the final {a} can be added after the suffix {w} of the passive form.[57]

Current combinations of suffixes are, e.g.,

(a) stative + associative → {Ekan}, expressing potentiality, conceived as the capacity to receive a definite action, e.g.,

on[a 'see' → *onekan[a* 'be visible';
wez[a 'be able' → *wezekan[a* 'be possible';
tak[a 'want' → *takikan[a* 'be required';
ju[a 'know' → *julikan[a* 'be knowable'; etc.

(b) static + associative → {aman}, e.g.,

ung[a 'join' → *ungaman[a* 'be joined together';
fung[a 'tie, bind' → *fungaman[a* 'be interlaced' (hence, e.g., 'be impenetrable (of a forest)');
gand[a 'coagulate' → *gandaman[a* 'be frozen'; etc.

(c) reversive + stative → {Ok}, often indicating the progressive change by which the opposite state is being reached, e.g.,

lewa 'be drunk' → *levuka* 'become sober';
tand(ik)a 'spread out' → *tanduka* 'become gathered up'; etc.

The same pattern of formation is to be found in a few verbs which indicate a process of becoming which results in a definite state, but whose basic verb is no longer extant in Swahili, e.g., *kauka* 'get dry', from a verbal root {kal} which also appears in the adjective stem *kavu* 'dry' (with -*vu* from /l/ + /u/; cf. 2.2.2.4; 2.3.1(c)), *punguka* 'get less' from a verbal root {pung}, actually occurring with a widely divergent meaning in *punga* 'swing about, stagger, drive out an evil spirit'.

(d) reversive + stative + causative → {Okj}, i.e., the causative of the theme described under (c), realized as ['u·š] ~ ['ɔ̞·š] before final -*a*, e.g.,

lewa 'be drunk' → *levuka* 'become sober' → *levusha* 'make sober';
angika 'hang up' → *anguka* 'fall down' → *angusha* 'let fall, throw down'; etc.

(e) reversive + stative + associative → {Okan}, e.g.,

fum[a 'weave' → *fumukan[a* 'disperse (of a crowd)', the succession of suffixes pointing to the progressive dissociation of the clustered people; etc.

(f) causative, with the secondary suffix {Ez} (i.e., actually, applicative in {El} + causative in {j}; cf. 2.3.2.3(4)) + stative → {EzEk}, e.g.,

pendez[a 'please' → *pendezek[a* 'be pleased';
elez[a 'explain' → *elezek[a* 'be explained, explainable'; etc.

(g) causative, with the secondary suffix {Ez} + associative → {Ezan}, e.g.,

pendez[a 'please' → *pendezan[a* 'please one another'; etc.

(h) applicative + associative → {E(l)an}, realized as *-ian-* ~ *-ean-*, e.g.,

ambi[a 'say to' → *ambian[a* 'tell one another'; etc.

(i) contactive + associative → {atan}, e.g.,

ambat[a 'adhere to' → *ambatan[a* 'adhere together'; etc.

This sampling does not nearly exhaust the range of possibilities of combinations of suffixes in verbal derivation, since many derived themes become in turn productive of a whole set of current derivations. Thus, applicatives and causatives are commonly derived from reversive themes, e.g., *fumbu[a* 'disclose' → applicative *fumbulia*, causative *fumbuza*; furthermore, the applicative theme then serves as a basis for the derivation of a passive, e.g., *fumbuliwa* from *fumbuli[a*. Also frequent are the associatives derived from reversive themes, e.g., *fumbuana* from *fumbu[a*. The associatives themselves often show causatives in {j} as well as in {Eš} (from stative {Ek} plus causative {j}): when both coexist, the contrast of meaning often points to the stative connotation given by {Ek} in the form in {Eš}, e.g., in the causatives derived from *fungana* 'fasten together', *funganya* indicates the task of fastening together done in collaboration, whereas *funganisha* stresses the idea of putting objects in the state of being fastened together, e.g.,

walifunganya mizigo 'they joined in the operation of packing loads';

alifunganisha baiskeli na mti 'he got the bicycle tied up to a tree'[58].

2.3.2.5. Reduplication frequently affects verbal stems as a whole, either to express the continuity of a process or state, or to increase or lessen the expressivity of the implied root, e.g., *kutangatanga* 'to wander about' (: *tanga* 'stroll'); *kulewalewa* 'to stagger' (: *lewa* 'be drunk'); etc.

2.4. Inflection

Inflection includes the study of nominal, pronominal and verbal stems, as well as of invariable particles.

2.4.1. Class concords

Swahili inflection is characterized by the Bantu class-prefix system. There are three kinds of concords:

(a) nominal (with nouns, locatives and adjectives, including some numerals);

(b) pronominal (with the connective and referential particles, the demonstratives, the possessives and the interrogatives, as well as -*ote*, -*enye* and *enyewe*);

(c) verbal.

The prefixes of Swahili are:

	Nominal	Pronominal	Verbal
(I)			{ni}
(we)			{tu}
(you [sg.])			{u}
(you [pl.])			{m}
Class 1	{m}	{u}~{ju}~{je}	{a}
Class 2	{wa}	{wa}	{wa}
Class 3	{m}	{u}	{u}
Class 4	{mi}	{i}	{i}
Class 5	{ɟi}	{li}	{li}
Class 6	{ma}	{ja}	{ja}
Class 7	{ki}	{ki}	{ki}
Class 8	{vi}	{vi}	{vi}
Class 9	{n}	{i}	{i}

Class 10	{n}	{zi}	{zi}
Class 11/14	{u}~{m}	{u}	{u}
Class 15/17	{ku}	{ku}	{ku}
Class 16	{pa}	{pa}	{pa}
Class 18		{mu}	{mu}

The numbers indicating the classes reflect the usual Bantu numeration of classes. As some proto-Bantu classes have blurred in Swahili, e.g., class 11, characterized in proto-Bantu by the nominal prefix *{do}, and class 14, characterized in proto-Bantu by the nominal prefix *{bo}, the double numbers indicate the resulting Swahili class.

2.4.2. *Nominal forms*

2.4.2.1. Nominal forms include nouns and adjectives. They consist of a class-prefix plus a nominal stem, which can either be a root, e.g., {tu} in *mtu* 'man', or a derived theme, e.g., the deverbative {gomvi} from the verbal root {gomb} 'contradict' in *ugomvi* 'quarreling'.

The sole structural difference between nouns and adjectives is that the nominal stems occurring in nouns only allow a restricted choice of prefixes, whereas those occurring in adjectives can usually appear with any class-prefix, in agreement with a noun or locative. On the basis of this use of class-prefixes, a distinction is often made, on the morphological level, between *short-series nominals* (=nouns) and *long-series nominals* (=adjectives), though syntactically, adjectives behave differently from nouns.

An example of the range of possibilities of the use of class-prefixes with a nominal stem to form nouns is given by the root {ti}, to which such a variety of nouns as (class 3) *mti* 'tree'; (class 4) *miti* 'trees'; (class 5) *jiti* 'large tree'; (class 7) *kiti* 'chair'; (class 8) *viti* 'chairs'; etc., belong.

2.4.2.2. The noun-classes are usually grouped by twos to mark the contrast between singular and plural, e.g.,

	Singular	Plural
Class 1-2	*mtu* 'man'	: *watu* 'men';
	mtoto 'child'	: *watoto* 'children';
Class 3-4	*mji* 'village'	: *miji* 'villages';
	mwaka 'year'	: *miaka* 'years';
Class 5-6	*jicho* 'eye'	: *macho* 'eyes';
	jino 'tooth'	: *meno* 'teeth' ({ma} + {ino}; cf. 2.2.1.1)
	shoka 'axe'	: *mashoka* 'axes';
Class 7-8	*kikapu* 'basket'	: *vikapu* 'baskets';
	chumba 'room'	: *vyumba* 'rooms';
Class 11/14-10	*ubavu* 'rib'	: *mbavu* 'ribs';
	ukuta 'wall'	: *kuta* 'walls' [k^h];
	wimbo 'song'	: *nyimbo* 'songs'; etc.

In the case of nouns belonging to classes 9 and 10, the contrast between singular and plural is not marked in the noun-prefix, although it appears in the pronominal and verbal concords, e.g., *nguo* 'cloth' ~ 'clothes', but *nguo ile inapasulika* 'that cloth tears easily': *nguo zake zimepasuka* 'his clothes are torn'. The infinitives (class 15) and the locatives (class 16, 17, 18) show no number contrast.

2.4.2.3. By and large, the semantic basis of Bantu nominal classification is still transparent in Swahili, though various shifts and innovations have blurred the original distributional pattern in many ways.

(a) Class 1 (proto-Bantu *{me}) and class 2 (proto-Bantu *{ba}) still contain nothing but autonomous individualized beings, i.e., names of human beings,[59] although, for specific reasons, names of persons also occur in other classes (cf. infra). Examples are:

Mwingereza 'Englishman'
Muumba 'Creator'
msimamizi 'foreman'
mchawi 'wizard'
mzee 'elder';
mke 'wife';
mwimbaji 'singer';
mgonjwa 'sick person'; etc.

(b) Class 3 (proto-Bantu *{mu}) and class 4 (proto-Bantu *{me}) contain non-autonomous individualized beings and still preserve traces of an animistic conception of the world. Besides names of persons acting as instruments of a higher power, like mtume 'prophet, apostle' (plural mitume), it therefore contains various names of:

(1) characteristically animate parts of the body, like the heart (moyo), the limbs (mkono 'arm, hand', mguu 'foot, leg'); also for animals, the tail (mkia), the beak (mdomo); etc.

(2) plants and trees, e.g., mnazi 'coconut-tree', mchikichi 'palm-tree', mchungwa 'orange-tree'; etc.--including as well the objects made from them, e.g., mkeka 'mat (of coconut fibre)', mshale 'arrow'; etc.

(3) natural phenomena, like fire (moto), smoke (moshi), etc.--including such manifestations of the powers of nature as forests (miitu), mountains (milima), rivers (mito), the moon (mwezi), etc.

A few names of animals also occur in these classes, e.g., mjusi 'lizard'. Quite common are also the deverbatives in {o}, indicating the ultimate result of the action, e.g., mchezo 'game' from {cez} 'play', actually the causative theme of {cek} 'laugh'; mtego 'trap' from {teg} 'set a trap'; etc. There are also a few loanwords like msumari 'nail', mtihani 'examination', mshahara 'monthly wages'; etc.

(c) Class 5 (proto-Bantu *{de}) hardly preserves any trace of its original function, which was to indicate one of a pair of objects, e.g., in parts of the body which come in pairs like jicho 'eye', bega 'shoulder', sikio 'ear', goti 'knee', etc. The prefix {ɟi} has expanded this semantic function to the indication of any constituent of groups of things occurring in association with the prefix {ma}, which mainly expressed totality, but was also used in Bantu as pluralizer for nouns belonging to class 5. This accounts for the use of Swahili {ɟi} : {ma} with words like:

jiwe 'stone' : *mawe* 'stones';
yai 'egg' : *mayai* 'eggs';
tunda 'fruit' : *matunda* 'fruit';
jani 'leaf' : *majani* 'leaves', etc.

Numerous deverbatives also belong to class 5 in Swahili, e.g., *pigo* 'blow' (from {pig} 'strike'); *jambo* 'matter' (from the root {amb} 'speak', contained in *ambia* 'say to'); *elezo* 'explanation' (: *eleza* 'explain'), etc.

Furthermore, the class contains various words, mostly of foreign origin, like *duka* 'shop', *juma* 'week', *shamba* 'plantation', etc. Some of these apply to persons and are either indications of degrees of kinship, e.g., *umbu* 'sister', *shangazi* 'aunt'[60] or titles, ranks or names of professions, e.g., *kadhi* 'Muslim judge', *waziri* 'minister', *bibi* 'Mrs.', *baharia* 'sailor', *fundi* 'craftsman', *seremala* 'carpenter', etc.

The prefix {ɟi} is also used in a different context as a morpheme indicating size: when used alone before a nominal stem in the singular, it gives the noun an augmentative meaning, e.g., {tu} 'man' → *jitu* 'giant'; {su} 'knife → *jisu* 'big knife'; {oka} 'snake' → *joka* 'large snake'; {toto} 'child' → *toto* 'big fine child'; {paka} 'cat' → *paka* 'big cat'; etc.--the prefix {ɟi} being represented by its zero allomorph in the last two cases. The plural of such augmentatives is formed by prefixing {ma} to the form of the singular, the prefix {ɟi} being maintained in this case, in contrast with the other (non-augmentative) forms where {ɟi} and {ma} alternate as markers of the number contrast. This is due to the fact that the prefix {ɟi} indicating size is actually different from the prefix of class 5 and reflects proto-Bantu *{gi}, which is the regular augmentative class-prefix (of class 21). This prefix also appears to be retained as a mere size-marker in the formation of Swahili diminutives where {ɟi} also occurs regularly under its various allomorphs before the nominal stem and preceded by the class-prefix {ki} in the singular and {vi} in the plural, e.g.,

{tu} 'man' → *kijitu* 'manikin', plural *vijitu*;
{oka} 'snake' → *kijoka* 'small snake', plural *vijoka*;
{toto} 'child' → *kitoto* 'infant', plural *vitoto*;
{kombe} 'platter' → *kikombe* 'cup', plural *vikombe*, etc.

Moreover, {ɟi} is often added under the form -*ji*- to reemphasize the idea of size, where {ɟi} would normally be represented by its zero allomorph. This occurs mainly in diminutives, mostly in a derogatory meaning, e.g.,

{toto} 'child' → *kijitoto* 'a very small infant';
{duka} 'shop' → *kijiduka* 'an insignificant little shop'; etc.

but it is also found in augmentatives, e.g.,

{vuli} 'shadow' → *jivuli* 'immense shadow' (plural *majivuli*).

(d) Class 6 (proto-Bantu *{ma}) was originally the class to which mass nouns indicating a non-itemizable whole belonged. This accounts for the occurrence of names of liquids and other words expressing an idea of totality in this class in Swahili, e.g., *mate* 'saliva', *maziwa* 'milk', *mafuta* 'fat, oil', *mapesa* 'a lot of money' (versus *pesa*, plural *pesa* 'pice'), *mafisi* 'a pack of hyenas' (versus *fisi*, plural *fisi* 'hyenas'). This is especially evident in the semantic contrast between nouns formed by prefixing {u} and {ma}, respectively, to the same nominal stem, e.g.,

ulezi 'tutorial activity' : *malezi* 'training, education';
ulaji 'act of eating' : *malaji* 'food';
ulimwengu 'world' : *malimwengu* 'the affairs of the world';
ulimaji 'agriculture' : *malimaji* 'the implements used in working the land'; etc.

In such pairs, {u} gives a definite abstract meaning to the word, whereas {ma} points rather to the concrete objects concerned or to the various processes involved, visualizing them as a whole. This use of {ma} also accounts for the integration of Arabic loans like *mahari* 'dowry', *makamu* 'rank, position', *maisha* 'life', etc., into this class.[61] The main function of {ma} in Swahili is, however, to provide a plural for the {ɟi} class: as has been pointed out, this function of {ma} has its origin in the early use of the prefix to indicate the whole of a set consisting of two objects, e.g., *mapacha* 'twins', *maziwa* 'breasts', *mabega* 'shoulders', also (dialectally) *maguu* 'feet', instead of *miguu*, plural of *mguu* (class 3).

(e) Class 7 (proto-Bantu *{ke}) and class 8 (proto-Bantu *{be}) are essentially the classes of inanimate objects, but nominal stems denoting other concepts have found their way into these classes, e.g.,

(1) diminutives, on account of the fact that the function of the proto-Bantu diminutive prefix *{ka} was taken over by {ki} after the loss of {ka} in Swahili;

(2) names for persons with physical defects, e.g., *kipofu* 'blind', *kiziwi* 'deaf', *kilema* 'cripple', etc.--evidently with a derogatory connotation, the use of the typical prefix for things pointing to their being of no account as living beings in a definite social context.

When the nominal stem is a deverbative in {o}, the use of the prefix {ki} usually indicates an implement directly connected with the process expressed by the verb, e.g.,

kifuniko 'lid' from *funika* 'cover up';
kizibo 'cork' from *ziba* 'stop up'; etc.

Similarly, with a deverbative in {e}, {ki} will indicate the passive agent or object acted upon, e.g., *kiumbe* 'creature' from *umba* 'shape, create', *kitobwe* 'hole made by piercing' from *toboa* 'pierce', etc.; {ki} also appears in further deverbatives, indicating the action, the agent, etc., e.g., *kinyozi* 'barber' from *nyoa* 'shave', *kitana* 'comb' from *chana* 'separate',[62] etc. Another particular use of {ki} is to form nouns indicating ways and manners, e.g., *kizungu* 'the European fashion' in *viazi vya kizungu* 'potatoes', as distinguished from 'yams', simply called *viazi*; *kishamba* 'the rural way', in *nguo za kishamba* 'country-like clothes'. This also accounts for the use of the prefix {ki} before names of languages, e.g., *kiSwahili*, literally 'the coastal way of speech'.

(f) The essential function of class 9 (proto-Bantu *{ne}), which was to define an object or being by its most characteristic feature, is still transparent in some cases in Swahili, e.g., in names of animals like *mbega* 'colobus', a monkey whose typical feature is his white shoulders (*mabega*), *nyuki* 'bee', an insect whose main activity is to produce 'honey' (archaic *uki*, now replaced by the Arabic loanword *asali*). The plural of this class was formed by prefixing *{di} to the form of the singular with its *{ne} prefix[63]; in Swahili, this prefix *{di} is reflected by the pronominal and verbal concord {zi}, but in the nominal concord system, the contrast between singular and plural has been leveled out.

Besides names of animals (including insects), the {n} class contains a great variety of names of fruit (e.g., *tende* 'date', *ndizi* 'banana', *nazi* 'coconut', etc.) and everyday objects (e.g., *kengele* 'bell', *ndoo* 'bucket', *pete* 'ring', *chupa* 'bottle', etc.). This class also contains the largest number of loanwords in Swahili, presumably on account of the frequency of the occurrence of the zero allomorph of the prefix {n}, which made this class particularly fit to absorb words of foreign origin without having to readjust their initial syllable within the framework of the Swahili class-system. Examples of such loanwords are *bakshishi* 'tip', *kahawa* 'coffee', *meza* 'table', *motokaa* 'motorcar', *picha* 'picture', *sharti* 'binding contract', etc.

(g) The {u} class of Swahili is the result of the merging of two Bantu classes:

(1) class 11 (proto-Bantu *{do}), which is essentially the class of individualized objects numbering more than two (thus contrasting with class 5, indicating one of two objects);

(2) class 14 (proto-Bantu *{bo}), which is the class of abstracts from nominal and verbal stems.

The abstract nouns in which the class prefix {u} reflects proto-Bantu *{bo} have no plural when they are formed with a purely nominal stem, e.g.,

ufalme 'kingdom' versus mfalme 'king';
uzuri 'beauty' from the adjective zuri 'beautiful';
wingi 'abundance' from the adjective ingi 'much, many'; etc.

When they are formed with a deverbative stem, the abstract nouns with the {u} prefix are often paralleled by nouns of the {ma} class, indicating the whole set of processes involved in the verbal action (cf. supra, sub[d]); in some cases, these nouns of the {ma} class apparently function as plurals of the corresponding {u} class abstract, e.g., ugomvi 'quarrelling': magomvi 'quarrels' from gomba 'quarrel'.

The concrete nouns in which the class-prefix {u} reflects proto-Bantu *{do} take the class-prefix {n} when used in the plural, e.g.,

udevu 'single hair of the beard': ndevu 'beard';
ukuni 'stick of firewood': kuni [k^h] 'firewood'; etc.

However, the use of the {u} prefix for concrete things is by no means restricted to the designation of single items in a whole mass; it also occurs with mass nouns when the components of the composite whole are usually not thought of as individual items, e.g., unga 'flour', udongo 'clay, soil', wali cooked rice', etc. These words have no plural.

In other cases, its original meaning is completely blurred, e.g., ukuta 'wall', plural kuta [k^h]; ulimi 'tongue', plural ndimi, etc. Some of these words are deverbatives, indicating the instrument of the action, e.g., ufagio 'broom', plural fagio (: fagia 'sweep'); wimbo 'song, hymn', plural nyimbo (: imba 'sing'); etc. The plural-formation of the monosyllabic stems with the prefix {u} is characterized by the retention of this prefix before the stem, when the {n} morpheme, functioning as pluralizer, is prefixed to the singular form, e.g., *ufa* 'crack', plural *nyufa*; *uzi* 'thread', plural *nyuzi*; *uta* 'bow', plural *nyuta*.[64]

When used to form names of countries, the prefix {u} reflects proto-Bantu *{bo}, e.g., in *Unguja* 'Zanzibar', *Ureno* 'Portugal', *Ulaya* 'Europe', *Uganda* (: luGanda *Buganda*). This is also the case in words without plural like *usiku* 'night' (versus *siku* 'day'), *usingizi* 'sleep', etc., whereas others, like *umri* 'age', are loanwords inserted into this class.

(h) Class 15 (proto-Bantu *{ko}) is used exclusively to form infinitives by prefixing {ku} to any verbal stem, e.g., *kukopa* 'to borrow', *kuoza* 'to rot', *kusukuma* 'to push', *kuiva* 'to ripen', *kujaribu* 'to try'; etc.

(i) Class 16 only contains one noun in Swahili, namely *mahali*, dialectally *pahali*, 'place'.

2.4.2.4. As a rule, the stems of adjectives appear with the same class-prefixes as the nouns, though specific concord rules account for discrepancies between the class-prefix of the noun and the class-prefix occurring with the adjective which qualifies it. In class 11/14, the prefix {u}, however, only occurs in a limited number of phrases with the noun *utu* (belonging originally to class 11 [proto-Bantu *{bo}]), e.g., *utu ume* 'manhood', *utu uke* 'womanhood', *utu uzima* 'maturity', *utu wema* 'kindness'; otherwise, there is a complete merger between class 11/14 and class 3 in the adjectival concord for which the prefix {m} of class 3 is used (with an allomorph /mw/ before vowel).

The number of adjectives commonly used with the various nominal class-prefixes in Swahili is rather limited. Some of the stems of adjectives are deverbative,[65] others, like -*nene* 'big, stout', -*fupi* 'short', -*pya* 'new', etc., escape further analysis. The most important ones are (in alphabetical order):

-baya 'bad';
-bichi 'raw, unripe';
-bivu 'ripe';
-bovu 'rotten';
-chache 'few';
-chungu 'bitter';
-dogo 'small';
-ekundu 'red';
-ema 'good';
-embamba 'narrow';
-epesi 'light, easy';
-erevu 'cunning';
-eupe 'white';
-eusi 'black';
-fupi 'short';
-geni 'foreign';
-gumu 'hard';
-ingi 'much, many';
-ingine 'other';
-kali 'sharp, fierce, acid';
-kavu 'dry';
-ke 'female';
-kubwa 'big';
-kuu 'great, chief';
-nene 'stout, big' (of persons);
-nono 'fat' (of animals);
-ovu 'evil';
-pana 'broad';
-pya 'new';
-refu 'long';
-tamu 'sweet';
-tupu 'bare, empty';
-ume 'male';
-vivu 'idle';
-wivu 'jealous';
-zee 'old';
-zima 'sound, whole';
-zito 'heavy';
-zuri 'nice';

To the category of the adjectives also belong the numerals from 1 to 5, (-moja, -wili, -tatu, -nne, -tano), as well as 8 (-nane) and the indefinite numeral ngapi 'how many?' There are some restrictions on the use of class-prefixes with some adjective stems but their motivation is strictly semantic, e.g., the non-occurrence of -ke in the {n} class, as it applies only to names of animals belonging to this class, which names take the class 1-2 concord in the adjective.[66]

2.4.3. Pronominal forms

The pronominal forms include:

(a) the substitutive, traditionally called 'personal pronoun';
(b) the demonstrative;
(c) the possessive;
(d) the interrogative;
(e) the indefinite.

2.4.3.1. The substitutive appears in a bound and in a free form. The bound form occurs essentially after the associative particle na 'and, with' and with the presentative stressed allomorph /ndi/ 'it is...' of the copula {ni} 'be' and its negative counterpart {si}. The free form is commonly only used for persons; in the first, second and third person singular, it is merely a reduplication of the bound forms:

1. mimi 'I, me' : -mi, in nami 'and/with me';
2. wewe 'you' : -we, in nawe 'and/with you';
3. yeye 'he, him' : -ye, in naye 'and/with him'.

In the plural, bound forms only occur with ndi- and na-, though only ndi- is currently used in the first and second person plural,[67] where the free forms are:

1. sisi 'we, us' versus ndisi 'it is we';
2. ninyi 'you' versus ndinyi 'it is you'.

In verbal forms, the substitutive of the second person plural appears as postfinal under the bound form -(i)ni (cf. infra, 2.4.4.3).[68] In the third person plural, the bound form is -o, and the free form wao. This bound form -o is actually the morphophonemic reflex of the class-prefix {wa} plus the referential particle {o} (cf. 2.2.1.1(3)).

In the non-personal classes, the substitutive appears under two free forms:

(a) reduplication of the class-prefix;
(b) reduplication of the class-prefix, plus the referential particle {o}.

The first form only appears in phrases like (maneno) yaya kwa yaya 'the same (words) over and over again', and in connection with the corresponding demonstrative to emphasize identity, e.g., (vitu) vivi hivi 'these very same things'. The second form is more common, and is paralleled by a bound form consisting of the class-prefix plus {o}, with the predictable morphophonemic changes affecting the class-prefix before this particle as appears from the following tabulation of the forms:

Class	Simple Substitutive	Referential Substitutive	Bound Form of the Referential Substitutive
3	*uu*	*uo*	*(na)o*
4	*ii*	*iyo*	*(na)yo*
5	*lili*	*lilo*	*(na)lo*
6	*yaya*	*yayo*	*(na)yo*
7	*kiki*	*kicho*	*(na)cho*
8	*vivi*	*vivyo*	*(na)vyo*
9	*ii*	*iyo*	*(na)yo*
10	*zizi*	*zizo*	*(na)zo*
11/14	*uu*	*uo*	*(na)o*
15/17	*kuku*	*kuko*	*(na)ko*
16	*papa*	*papo*	*(na)po*
18	*mumu*	*mumo*	*(na)mo*

2.4.3.2. There are five forms of the demonstrative, which can either be used attributively with nouns or replace them. The first two forms indicate proximity or non-proximity in time and space. Non-proximity is marked by the morpheme {le} added to the pronominal class-concord, which appears under its allomorph /ju/ in class 1. Proximity is marked by prefixing the morpheme {hV} to the pronominal concord, /V/ being realized with the same quality as the vowel of the class-prefix, which, here too, appears as /ju/ in class 1. The third consists of the demonstrative expressing proximity, plus the referential particle {o}, and points to something already mentioned. The other two forms only occur in the non-personal classes; they are used to emphasize the idea of identity and consist respectively of the substitutive plus the demonstrative expressing proximity, and of the referential substitutive plus the referential demonstrative.

Class	Non-Proximity	Proximity	Referential	Identifying	Identifying Referential
1	yule	huyu	huyo		
2	wale	hawa	hao		
3	ule	huu	huo	uu huu	uo huo
4	ile	hii	hiyo	ii hii	iyo hiyo
5	lile	hili	hilo	lili hili	lilo hilo
6	yale	haya	hayo	yaya haya	yayo hayo
7	kile	hiki	hicho	kiki hiki	kicho hicho
8	vile	hivi	hivyo	vivi hivi	vivyo hivyo
9	ile	hii	hiyo	ii hii	iyo hiyo
10	zile	hizi	hizo	zizi hizi	zizo hizo
11/14	ule	huu	huo	uu huu	uo huo
15/17	kule	huku	huko	kuku huku	kuko huko
16	pale	hapa	hapo	papa hapa	papo hapo
18	mle[69]	humu	humo	mumu humu	mumo humo

Reduplication forms of the first two demonstratives also occur for purposes of emphasis, e.g., usiku ule ule mkewe alimzalia mtoto 'that very night his wife bore him a child'.

2.4.3.3. The possessive stems are:

	Singular	Plural
1.	-ngu	-itu
2.	-ko	-inu
3.	-ke	-o

Possessive pronominal forms consist of the pronominal class concord plus the connective particle {a} plus the relevant possessive stem, the class-concord of class 1 appearing under its allomorph /u/, e.g., mwalimu wangu 'my teacher'; mgeni wao 'their guest'. The use of the third person plural stem {o} is restricted to the cases where the owners are living beings; in relation with inanimate objects {ke} is used in the plural as well as in the singular, e.g., visu na vipini vyake 'knives and their handles'.

The possessive stems are used as suffixes with a few nouns, mostly indicating living beings. In the first person singular and plural and in the second person plural, they are preceded by the connective particle {a},[70] e.g.,

		1. Sg.	1. Plur.	2. Plur.
mwenzi 'companion'	→	mwenzangu	mwenzetu	mwenzenu
wenzi 'companions'	→	wenzangu	wenzetu	wenzenu
baba 'father'	→	babaangu (with contraction: babangu)	babaetu	babaenu

The forms of the second and third person singular only occur as -ako, -ake with the nouns mama 'mother' and baba 'father', e.g., babaako (contracted: babako), mamaake (contracted: mamake). With other nouns aberrant forms occur, e.g.,

(a) Second person, with nouns of class 1-2: -o, e.g., mwenzio 'your companion'; wanao 'your children'; etc.,--with nouns of class 9-10: -yo in the singular, versus -zo in the plural (i.e., the pronominal class-concord plus -o), e.g., nduguyo 'your brother', rafikizo 'your friends'; etc.

(b) Third person, with nouns of class 1-2: -we,[71] e.g., wenziwe 'his/her companions', mkewe 'his wife', mumewe 'her husband';--with nouns of class 9-10: -ye in the singular, versus -ze in the plural (i.e., the pronominal class-concord plus -e), e.g., nduguze 'his/her brothers'; rafikiye 'his/her friend'; etc.

These forms are traces of an older situation where the possessive stem of the second person singular was {u}, -o reflecting an early contraction of the connective particle {a} with the pronominal stem {u} (cf. the corresponding possessives in -ao in Makua and in -au in Venda).

Similarly, the possessive stem of the third person singular -e may reflect {a} + {i}. In the older language, it was usually[72] preceded by the relevant class-concord, when affixed to a noun, e.g.,

shinale 'its root' (shina being a {ɟi} stem);
mwishowe 'its end' (mwisho belonging to class 3);[73]
usowe 'his face' (uso being a {u} stem); etc.

2.4.3.4. The only interrogative stem used with the pronominal concord is {pi}; it expresses the idea of selection ('which one?'). In class 1, the concord appears under its allomorph /ju/; in class 2, an alternant allomorph /we/ of the pronominal concord {wa} occurs to distinguish it from *wa*- in the aberrant form *wapi* 'where?' appearing in class 16, e.g., *wanafunzi wepi* 'which pupils' versus *wanafunzi wamekwenda wapi*? 'where have the pupils gone?'; it is, however, not commonly used in current speech.

2.4.3.5. The indefinite pronominal stem {ote} indicates totality; when it conveys the meaning of completeness, it is used only in the singular, e.g., *daraja yote imechukuliwa na maji* 'the whole bridge was swept away by the water'. In the first and second person plural, it is used with the substitutive and appears with the corresponding pronominal concords *s*- and *ny*- in *sisi sote* 'all of us', *ninyi nyote* 'all of you'; moreover, the forms *sote* and *nyote* are frequently used with numerals, e.g., *sote watatu* 'the three of us'. To convey the meaning of 'any...whatever', {ote} is also used in correlation with the referential particle {o}, both taking the pronominal concord, e.g., *moto wo wote* 'any fire whatever'; *chakula cho chote* 'any food whatever', *kahawa yo yote* 'any coffee whatever'; *kuta zo zote* 'any walls whatever'. In class 1, in standard Swahili, the form *ye yote* is used instead of *yo yote*, which occurs, however, dialectally, e.g., *mtoto ye yote* 'any child whatever' (: Kimvita *yo yote*). The indefinite pronouns can be used either substantively, to replace a noun, or adjectivally, to qualify a noun, e.g.,

bilauri zote zimevunjika; nikuonyeshe yo yote? 'All the glasses are broken; shall I show you any of them?'

sitaki kuona kifaru ye yote 'I do not want to see any rhino whatever'.

2.4.3.6. Also used with the pronominal prefix are the stem {eɲe} 'having, becoming', which occurs in noun phrases with a noun or its substitute to express a state or condition, e.g., *mji wenye watu wengi* 'a populous town', as well as the complex morpheme {eɲewe} 'himself, itself, etc.', denoting identity in a non-reflexive sense, e.g., kisu chenyewe 'the knife itself', i.e., the actual knife under consideration. However, in the (personal) classes 1 and 2, -enye and -enyewe both appear with the adjectival concord, e.g., mtu mwenye mali 'a man of property', ninyi wenyewe 'you yourselves'.

2.4.4. Verbal forms

A Swahili verbal form is composed of various constituents which appear in a fixed order but do not necessarily occur simultaneously:

1. preinitial;
2. initial;
3. postinitial;
4. marker;
5. 'infix';[74]
6. root;
7. suffix(es);
8. final;
9. postfinal.

Examples:

halisahauliki 'it is unforgettable', containing the preinitial negative {ha}, the initial verbal concord {li} of class 5, the verbal root {sahau}, the complex stative suffix -lik- (from {(E)lEk}), and the final {i} of the negative indicative present;

usimwambie 'don't tell him/her', containing the initial pronominal subject prefix of the second person singular {u}, the postinitial negative {si}, the pronominal infix of the third person singular {m} (under its allomorph /mw/ before vowel) functioning as indirect object, the verbal root {amb}, the applicative suffix {E(l)}, and the final {e} of the subjunctive.

nitawaombeni 'I'll ask you (all)', contains the initial pronominal subject prefix of the first person singular {ni}, the tense-marker of the future {ta}, the pronominal infix of the second person plural {wa} functioning as direct object, the verbal root {omb}, the final {a} of the indicative, and the postfinal {ini}, used here to characterize the form as a second person plural, since *nitawaomba* might as well mean 'I'll ask them'.

Moreover, in definite relative forms (cf. infra, p. 123), a special complex morpheme is inserted immediately before the infix or, in the absence of an infix, before the root, e.g., *tunayoitafuta* 'which we are looking for', containing the initial pronominal subject prefix of the first person plural {tu}, the tense-marker of the actual present {na}, the relative {jo} replacing a noun of class 9, the verbal concord {i} of class 9 functioning as infix, the verbal root {tafut}, and the final {a} of the indicative.

2.4.4.1. The preinitial and the postinitial are mutually exclusive and occur only in negative forms. The postinitial morpheme is {si}, the preinitial morpheme is {ha}, which shows an allomorph /h/ before the pronominal subject prefix {u} of the second person singular but not before the verbal class-concord {u}, e.g., *hutaimba* 'you will not sing' versus *hautavunja* 'it will not break' (e.g., *ukucha* '(finger)nail'); in the first person singular the morpheme {si} is used as preinitial instead of {ha} + {ni}.

2.4.4.2. All verbal forms contain a verbal root, to which an initial is always prefixed, except in the imperative, the adhortative and the habitual. Verbal stems are usually composed of the root, with or without one or more suffixes, plus a final {a}; they remain unchanged in the conjugation, except for the replacement of the final {a} by the morphemes {i} or {e}, respectively, in the negative present indicative, and in the subjunctive and adhortative. Verbs of Arabic origin ending in -*i*, -*e*, -*u*, or -*au* have no final {a} nor do they show the replacive morphemes {i} or {e}, e.g., *hawasamehe* 'they do not forgive', *lazima tusahau magomvi yetu* 'we must forget our quarrels' versus *hawataki* 'they do not want', *lazima tuvisome vitabu hivi* 'we must read these books'.

2.4.4.3. The initial, the infix, and the postfinal are substitutives, the first two of which assume definite syntactic functions.

The initial is an obligatory substitute for any noun or pronoun functioning as subject in the verbal clause; it can assume this function on its own as well. When applying to living beings, it is formally a pronominal prefix with distinct forms according to person and number;[75] in the non-personal classes, it is formally identical with the pronominal class-concord.

There is no initial in the imperative, in the adhortative, and in the habitual tense, e.g., *pika mboga* 'cook vegetables', *mwite Ali* 'call Ali', *ugomvi huleta matata* 'quarreling brings trouble'. In the infinitive, the verbal stem is preceded by the prefix of class 15, e.g., *kukauka* 'to dry up'.

Monosyllabic verbal stems show a morpheme {ku}, which is usually considered as the prefix of the infinitive functioning as a mere stress-bearer in tenses whose marker cannot receive the stress; this {ku} is dropped as soon as the verb is used with an object infix, which receives the stress, e.g., *alikúla* 'he ate', but *alivíla* 'he ate them' (e.g., *viazi* 'potatoes').[76]

The infix is a partly optional, partly obligatory substitute for any noun or pronoun functioning as direct or indirect object in the verbal clause; it can also assume this function on its own. When applying to living beings, it is formally a pronominal prefix with distinct forms according to person and number, but it is only identical to the initial pronominal prefix in the first person singular and plural and in the third person plural. The relevant morphemes are:

Person	Singular	Plural
1st	{ni}	{tu}
2nd	{ku}	{wa}
3rd	{m}	{wa}

e.g., *utaniambia* 'you will tell me', *alikuita* 'he called you', *walituona* 'they saw us', *watawaeleza* 'they will explain to you (plural)', etc.

The morpheme {ɟi}, functioning as reflexive pronominal particle, is also used as infix for all classes, e.g., *hawezi kujiweka vema* 'he cannot behave himself'.

The postfinal {ini} only occurs in the second person plural:

(a) in the imperative and the adhortative, e.g., *someni* 'read (ye)!' (versus singular *soma*);

(b) in the verbal forms with the infix *wa*, to characterize the form as a second person.[77]

A complex morpheme consisting of the pronominal class-concord and the referential particle {o} also occurs as postfinal in definite relative forms (cf. infra, p. 123).

2.4.4.4. The inflectional elements in conjugation are the preinitial, the postinitial, the marker, and the final. The first two are restricted to negative forms: the preinitial appears in the indicative,[78] the postinitial in the adhortative, the subjunctive, and the relative.

The postinitial can carry the word-stress, which implies that {ku} does not appear in the negative forms of monosyllabic stems, in which the postinitial {si} immediately precedes the root, e.g., *asíje* 'may he not come!', but *asingekúja* 'he would not come'.[79]

The markers occurring in Swahili indicate tense and aspect. As it is difficult to accurately label the conjugation forms in which they appear, these are usually named after their markers. The following simple markers occur in Swahili:

(a) in the affirmative indicative or relative forms: {na}, {li};

(b) in the affirmative indicative forms: {a}, {me}, {ki}, {ŋga};

(c) in the negative indicative forms: {ku}, {ɟa};

(d) in the affirmative or negative forms: {ta}, {ŋge};

(e) in the affirmative indicative, adhortative or subjunctive forms: {ka}.

The following complex markers occur in Swahili:

(a) in affirmative indicative forms: {ɟapo};

(b) in affirmative relative forms: {taka};

(c) in affirmative or negative indicative forms: {ŋgali}.

The markers {na}, {li}, {me}, {ta}, {ŋge}, {ŋgali}, and {ɟapo} cannot carry the word-stress. As a consequence, the morpheme {ku} appears after them before monosyllabic verbal stems if the verbal complex does not contain an object-infix,[80] e.g., *ajapokuja* 'even if he comes', *ungalikufa* 'if you had died', *atakunywa* 'he will drink', but *atayanywa* 'he will drink it' (e.g., *maji* 'water').

There are three finals in Swahili: {a}, {e}, and {i}: {i} occurs in the negative present indicative, where there is no marker; as final {a} is maintained in all the other negative forms of the indicative, the replacive morpheme {i} apparently functions as a substitute for the tense-marker in the negative indicative present; {e} functions as an indicator of mode in the subjunctive and the adhortative.

2.4.4.5. The verbal system of Swahili is characterized by distinctions of:

(a) *Order*: *affirmative* versus *negative*. The negative is marked by the pre- and postinitial prefixes; the affirmative as such is unmarked.

(b) *Mode*:

- (1) *Indicative*;
- (2) *Imperative*: restricted to the expression of commands in the affirmative order, and occurring only in the second person;
- (3) *Adhortative*: occurring only as a substitute for the imperative in the negative order, and, when used with an object-infix,[81] in the affirmative order;
- (4) *Subjunctive*: used in specific contexts expressing permission, prohibition, compulsion, purpose and similar concepts, as well as in definite compound verbal forms (cf. infra, p.151);
- (5) *Relative*: occurring as the nucleus of a relative clause, either in connection with a specific antecedent or, autonomously, in substantival use, e.g., *watakao kazi wanangoja mbele ya afisi* 'those who want work are waiting in front of the office'.

(c) Tense: dealing with the time/aspect dimension in the verbal process, which dimension can either be marked or unmarked. If it is unmarked, the tense-marker {a} is used in the indicative, whereas no tense-marker occurs in the relative, e.g., twasoma vitabu 'we read books'; sisi tusomao vitabu 'we who read books' ({tu}--in its allomorph /tw/ before /a/--is the first person plural pronominal subject-prefix; {a} is the tense-marker in the first example; {soma} is the verbal stem; {o}, in the relative form, is the postfinal consisting of the pronominal concord of class 2 plus the referential particle {o}, the morphophonemic changes affecting /wa/ + /o/ yielding {o}).

Similarly, tense is not marked in the imperative; in the subjunctive and the adhortative, only a subsecutive tense occurs in the affirmative order, besides the unmarked affirmative and the negative, e.g.,

nipe chakula nile[82] 'give me food that I may eat';
mzuie mwanao asile tunda hili 'prevent your child from eating this fruit';
katazame[83] 'go and see' (= njoo utazame).

In all the other conjugation forms, tense is marked. The tense-markers indicate:

(A) Time: conceived as linear in both directions--past and future--with reference to the present. The tense-markers indicating time are:

1. {na}, used when the action is actually taking place at the effective moment of speaking, e.g., watoto wanacheza kiwanjani 'children are playing on the plot of ground', as contrasted with a general statement like watoto wacheza 'children play'. There is, however, a growing tendency to use the {na} tense in both cases. In subordinate clauses, {na} can also refer to the time considered as the present moment in the context, e.g., wanyama waling'amua (ya) kuwa mbuga inaungua 'the animals realized that the savannah was ablaze';

2. {li}, merely situating the verbal process in the past versus the time of reference, e.g., nililima shamba langu jana 'I hoed my field yesterday';
3. {ta}, merely situating the verbal process in the future versus the time of reference, e.g., nitalima shamba langu kesho 'I'll hoe my field tomorrow'.

While these prefixes consider time with reference to a fixed point, i.e., the moment of speaking, time can also be conceived as relative to another process, stressing that one action is subsequent to another. The tense expressing this action is called subsecutive and marked by the morpheme {ka}, e.g., nilikwenda mkutanoni nikamwona Hemedi nikamwambia aje kwangu leo usiku 'I went to the meeting and saw Hemedi, and told him he should come to my place tonight'.

(B) Aspect, i.e., the various ways in which the verbal action is visualized, involving:

1. The contrast between perfective and imperfective, marked respectively by the morphemes {me} and {ki}:

   {me} indicates that the action is completed at the time under reference, but that its result is effectively present, e.g., nimesikia 'I have heard' → 'I understand'; msafiri amefika 'the traveller has arrived' (he is here now).

   {ki} indicates that the action is in progress at the time under consideration, which entails its use in connection with other verbal forms like the future, the adhortative, etc., to mark a simultaneous process, e.g., utawaona wakiandika 'you'll see them writing', ukimwona mwambie aje kwa haraka 'if you see him (i.e., 'in the process of seeing him'), tell him to come at once'.

A similar contrast is expressed in the negative order by the morphemes {ku} and {ɟa}:

{ku} merely states the non-execution of an action at the time under reference, e.g., (umeandika barua?) Sikuandika. ('Have you written the letter?') 'I have not'.

{ɟa} indicates the persistence of the state of non-execution of the action at the moment of speaking, though it implies that it will ultimately take place, e.g., sijawa tayari 'I am not yet ready'.

2. The presentation of the realization of the process as depending on a certain condition, which condition may be considered as:
   (a) possible of realization, but ineffective (= suppositional concession);
   (b) realized, but ineffective (= actual concession);
   (c) possible of realization, but conjectural in referring to the present time;
   (d) impossible of realization, because referring to the past.[84]

   In these cases, the following markers will be used:
   {ɟapo}, e.g , ajapojitahidi hawezi kumaliza kazi hii 'even if he exerts himself, he cannot complete this task';
   {ŋga},[85] e.g., angawa tajiri mgonjwa hawezi kununua uzima 'a sick man, though he is rich, cannot buy health';
   {ŋge}, e.g., bilauri hii ingeanguka ingevunjika 'if this glass were to fall, it would be broken';
   {ŋgali}, e.g., angalikwenda kule angaliniona 'if he had gone there, he would have seen me'.

Further analysis of the linguistic evidence shows that:

{ki} contrasts with {ka} in stressing the simultaneousness of processes versus their consecutive completion; however, while {ka} merely marks succession in time, {ki} also points to the interdependence of the actions, so that the {ki} tense can denote the process conditioning the performance of a concomitant action, e.g., kama akija nikamwambia atakubali 'if he comes and if I then tell him, he will agree' ({ki} marks the conditions under which he will agree, while {ka} merely denotes a second and subsequent prerequisite).[86]

{ɟapo} is unmarked as regards time, whereas the contrast 'present' versus 'past' actually conditions the degree of probability of realization of the processes under consideration in the {ŋge} and {ŋgali} tenses.[87]

3. The presentation of the verbal process as habitual or recurrent. This aspect is marked by the morpheme {hu}, which excludes the occurrence of the initial pronominal subject-prefix,[88] e.g., *eropleni hupita kila siku* 'planes go by every day'.

2.4.4.6. The forms of the Swahili conjugation may be divided into paradigmatical and non-paradigmatical forms. The non-paradigmatical forms are:

1. the *infinitive*, consisting of the prefix {ku} plus the verbal stem, e.g., *kuvunjika* 'to be broken', *kusomesha* 'to teach', etc.
2. the *habitual*, consisting of the marker {hu} plus the verbal stem, e.g., *sabuni hupatikana dukani* 'soap is (usually) obtainable in the shop'.

Both forms can however be used with an infix, e.g., *kujificha* 'to hide oneself', *vidonda hivi hujipolea* 'such sores (usually) heal by themselves'.

The infinitive also shows a negative form, which is usually marked by the insertion of the morpheme {to} between the prefix {ku} and the verbal root, e.g., *kutokunywa* 'not to drink'.[89]

The paradigmatical forms can be subdivided in two groups:

(a) *the modes with limited paradigms*, namely:

(1) the *imperative*, restricted to the second person singular, with the mere verbal stem; and to the second person plural, consisting of the verbal stem plus the postfinal morpheme {ini}, e.g., *soma* 'read!': *someni* 'read(ye)!'[90]

(2) the *adhortative*, restricted to the second person singular and plural and characterized by the absence of initial pronominal subject prefix and the use of the final {e}, to which the /ni/ allomorph of the postfinal {ini} is added in the plural form; the negative order is

marked by the prefixation of postinitial {si}, e.g., visafishe 'clean them' (e.g., vyombo 'the cooking-pots'); nisikilizeni 'listen to me'; siseme 'don't say'.
The only marked tense-form of the adhortative is the subsecutive, which is used when the idea of 'going' is implied, e.g., kakitupe chungu kilichovunjika 'go and throw the broken pot away'.

(3) the subjunctive, used in all the persons and classes, but unmarked as regards tense, except for the affirmative subsecutive in {ka}, e.g., for kupata 'to get, obtain':

		Affirmative	Negative	Subsecutive
Sg.	1	nipate	nisipate	nikapate
	2	upate	usipate	ukapate
	3	apate	asipate	akapate
Pl.	1	tupate	tusipate	tukapate
	2	mpate	msipate	mkapate
	3	wapate	wasipate	wakapate
Cl.	3	upate	usipate	ukapate
	4	ipate	isipate	ikapate
		etc.	etc.	etc.

(b) the modes with extensive paradigms, namely:

(1) the indicative: in the affirmative order, all the tenses are constructed on the following pattern:

Initial + Marker + Infix + Verbal stem

The first three slots can be filled by the following morphemes:

STRUCTURAL SKETCH

Initial	Marker	Infix
Pronominal subject-prefixes		Pronominal object-prefixes
	{a} ('indefinite' present)	
Sg. 1 {ni}		Sg. 1 {ni}
	{na} ('actual' present)	
2 {u}		2 {ku}
	{li} (past)	
3 {a}		3 {m}
	{ta} (future)	
Pl. 1 {tu}		Pl. 1 {tu}
	{ka} (subsecutive)	
2 {m}		2 {wa}
	{me} (perfective/ resultative)	
3 {wa}		3 {wa}
	{ki} (imperfective/ continuous)	
Class-concords		Class-concords
	{ŋga} ('actual' concessive)	
Classes 3 and 11/14 {u}		Classes 3 and 11/14 {u}
	{ɟapo} ('suppositional' concessive)	
Classes 4 and 9 {i}		Classes 4 and 9 {i}
	{ŋge} (present conditional)	
Class 5 {li}		Class 5 {li}
	{ŋgali} (past conditional)	

Class 6 {ja}
Class 7 {ki}
Class 8 {vi}
Class 10 {zi}
Class 15/17 {ku}
Class 16 {pa}
Class 18 {mu}

Class 6 {ja}
Class 7 {ki}
Class 8 {vi}
Class 10 {zi}

Examples:

{a} tense: *wanafunzi wasoma*[91] *vitabu vingi* 'the pupils read many books';

{na} tense: *muhogo unaota vizuri katika shamba lake* 'the cassava grows well in his field';

{li} tense: *vikombe viwili vilivunjika* 'two cups were broken';

{ta} tense: *mtamwona mfalme* 'you will see the king';

{ka} tense: *alikwenda kisimani akazijaza ndoo mbili maji* 'he went to the well and filled two buckets with water';

{me} tense: *mitungi ile imejaa maziwa* 'those pots are full of milk';

{ki} tense: *tulimsikia akisema maneno haya* 'we heard him saying these words';

{ŋga} tense: *kipya kinyemi kingawa kidonda* 'even if it is a sore, something new is a source of pleasure';

{ɟapo} tense: *msafiri maskini ajapokuwa mfalme* 'a traveller is a poor man, even though he be a king';

{ŋge} tense: *nchi hii kama ingepata mvua nyingi, ingezaa sana* 'this region would be very productive if it got much rain';

{ŋgali} tense: *angalikunywa dawa hii angalipona* 'if he had drunk this potion he would have been cured'.

In the negative order, the tenses are constructed on the following patterns:

(a)

Preinitial	Initial	Marker	Infix	Verbal root/theme

=

Final

(b)

Initial	Postinitial	Marker	Infix	Verbal stem

Pattern (a) is to be found:

1. in the *present*, the slots being filled as follows:
   Preinitial: *ha*- (but *si*- instead of {ha} + {ni} in the first person singular);
   Initial: the same as in the affirmative order;
   Marker: none;
   Infix: the same as in the affirmative order;
   Final: -*i*, except in non-Bantu verbs ending in -*e*, -*i*, -*u* or -*au*, e.g., *miaka mitatu haitoshi* 'three years is not long enough'; *siwaombi* 'I don't ask them';
2. in the {ku}, {ɟa} and {ta} tenses, the slots being filled as follows:
   Preinitial: *ha*- (but *si*- instead of {ha} + {ni} in the first person singular);
   Initial: the same as in the affirmative order;
   Marker: {ku}, {ɟa} or {ta};
   Infix: the same as in the affirmative order, plus the verbal stem with the final {a}, e.g., *hatukuwaona* 'we did not see them'; *nyama haijaiva* 'the meat is not yet cooked'; *maziwa hayatatosha* 'there will not be enough milk';
3. in the {ŋge} and {ŋgali} tenses, the slots being filled in the same way as with the {ku}, {ɟa} and {ta} tenses, e.g., *kama wangepanda viazi hawangeogopa njaa* 'if they planted yams, they would not fear hunger';

kama hatungalipata mvua mahindi hayangaliota 'if we had not got rain, the maize would not have grown'.

However, in present-day usage, the use of pattern (b) is more common for the {ŋge} and {ŋgali} tenses. The slots are then filled as follows:

Initial: the same as in the affirmative order;
Postinitial: {si};
Marker: {ŋge} or {ŋgali};
Infix: the same as in the affirmative order, plus the verbal stem with final {a}. The above examples will thus appear as: *kama wangepanda viazi wasingeogopa njaa*; *kama tusingalipata mvua mahindi yasingaliota*.

(2) the *relative*: all relative forms contain a special slot for the complex morpheme characterizing this mode. This morpheme consists of the pronominal class-concord plus the referential particle {o}. However, in class 1, it appears as {je} for all three persons in the singular; class 2 shows *o*, resulting from the morphophonemic development of {wa} + {o}[92].

The relative morpheme cannot carry the word-stress, so that the morpheme {ku} appears before monosyllabic verbal stems where the form does not contain an infix, e.g., *mtoto aliyekula maembe* 'the child who ate mangoes'[93].

Only the time-dimension can be marked in the relative mode, and it is restricted to the affirmative order; besides, there are an affirmative and a negative form without tense-marker. The pattern on which the unmarked affirmative form is constructed is, however, different from the pattern of the marked forms. The pattern of the unmarked affirmative form consists of the following slots:

Initial	Infix	Verbal stem	Relative

e.g., *mwalimu asomaye* 'the teacher who reads';
kazi itufaayo 'work which suits us';

watu tuwapendao 'the people whom we like';
mti aukatao 'the tree which he cuts';
ngoma wainunuayo 'the drum which they buy';
hapa nikaapo pazuri 'here, where I live, (it is) lovely'.

The corresponding unmarked negative form shows the pattern:

Initial	Postinitial	Relative	Infix	Verbal stem

e.g., watu tusiowapenda 'the people whom we don't like';
mti asioukata 'the tree which he does not cut';
ngoma wasiyoinunua 'the drum which they do not buy'.

A similar pattern is used in the marked tenses in the affirmative order; it consists of the following slots:

Initial	Marker	Relative	Infix	Verbal stem

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The markers occurring in these relative forms are:

1. present: {na};
2. past: {li};
3. future: {taka};

Examples are:

tunaongoja 'we who are waiting';
wenzi ninaowapenda 'the companions I like';
watoto waliocheza mpira 'the children who played football (soccer)';
matunda uliyoyanunua 'the fruit you bought';
mboga zitakazochipua 'the vegetables that will shoot up';
nyundo nitakayoiazima 'the hammer I'll borrow'.

As appears from the examples of relative forms given above the presence or absence of infix does not affect the structure of the pattern, but when the relative applies to the initial subject-prefix, it consists of the relevant concord of the class of this subject plus the referential particle {o} (except for {je} in class 1), e.g., mpagazi aichukuaye *mizigo yangu* 'the porter who carries my luggage'; when the relative applies to the infix, it consists of the pronominal concord, which this infix requires, plus the referential particle {o} (except for {je} in class 1), e.g., *msimamizi tumwaminiye* 'the foreman whom we trust'; *mvua tulizozipata* 'the rains which we got'.

2.4.4.7. The verb *kuwa* 'to be' provides suppletive paradigms to the defective verb -*li* 'be', which does not show any modal distinction, since it has no final, and occurs only in definite forms in the present:

(a) *relative affirmative*: consisting of the initial, the verbal stem {li}, and the postfinal relative, which can ultimately be followed by a locative post-final, e.g., *mpishi aliyepo* 'the cook who is here'; *kuni zilizo kavu* 'the firewood which is dry';

(b) *indicative affirmative*: consisting of the initial and the verbal stem {li}, but occurring only in the older literary language, i.e., in aphorisms like *udongo upatize uli maji* 'use the clay while it is wet'.

In standard written Swahili, this form is replaced by the mere pronominal subject-prefix, except in the case of identification between subject and predicate (cf. infra, 2.5.6.3), e.g., *vikombe vi safi* 'the cups are clean'; *embe li bovu* 'the mango is rotten'. {li} also appears in the otherwise no longer occurring *persistitive* tense, expressing the idea of remaining in a situation which will ultimately come to an end. This tense was characterized by the marker {ŋga},[95] e.g., *wangali wagonjwa* 'they are still ill'; *ungali mwanafunzi*? 'are you still just a pupil?' If we represent the slot occupied by the initial pronominal subject prefix by the symbol (-) and the relative by the symbol (O), the paradigm of the verb 'to be' can be tabulated as follows:

		Indicative		Relative	
Marker	Tense	Affirmative	Negative	Affirmative	Negative
None	('Indefinite' present)		ha-wi	-liO	-siOkuwa
{na}	('Actual' present)	-nakuwa			
{li}	(past)	-likuwa	ha-kuwa	-liOkuwa	
{me}	(Perfective/ Resultative)[96]	-mekuwa			
{ɟa}	('not yet'-tense)		ha-jakuwa		
{ta}	(Future)	-takuwa	ha-takuwa	-takaOkuwa	
{ka}	(Subsecutive)	-kawa			
{ki}		-kiwa			
{ŋga}		-ngawa			
{ɟapo}		-japokuwa			
{ŋge}	(Conditional 'present')	-ngekuwa	ha-ngekuwa -singekuwa		
{ŋgali}	(Conditional 'past')	-ngalikuwa	ha-ngalikuwa -singalikuwa		

Of the other modes, only the subjunctive is commonly used in the present affirmative (-we) and negative (-siwe); the adhortative iwe (plural iweni), is usually replaced by the subjunctive forms uwe 'be thou!', mwe 'be ye!', with the corresponding negative usiwe, msiwe. There is no imperative form, and the unmarked present -wa occurs only in specific relative constructions.

2.4.5. Invariables

2.4.5.1. Particles are invariable words that cannot be integrated into the nominal, pronominal or verbal inflectional system. They can be grouped according to their structure or with reference to their function. Structurally, the invariables are either unanalyzable or only indirectly analyzable, e.g., ndani 'inside, within', actually the locative with the suffix {ni} of the obsolete {n} class noun nda 'entrails, womb' from the stem {la} (proto-Bantu */da/), which still occurs in various neighboring Bantu languages, e.g., Taita inda 'belly': vula 'bowels'. Some directly analyzable words like kuwa (the infinitive of the verb 'to be') can also be considered as particles, on account of their specific syntactic function, which sets them aside from similar complexes in the inflectional system. This also applies to the adverbial invariables and complexes.

According to their syntactic function, particles can be divided into two subgroups: (1) those corresponding functionally to members of regular grammatical categories in the inflectional system; (2) those assuming specific functions, which are not operative in the inflectional system, though they are also characteristic of some complexes. The first subgroup includes equivalents to:

(a) 'long-series nominals' or adjectives occurring with the various class-concords. They are the invariable adjectives of Arabic origin, the most common of which are bora 'excellent', ghali 'expensive', haba 'few', hodari 'clever, bold', imara 'firm', kamili 'complete', laini 'smooth', maskini 'poor', rahisi 'cheap, easy', safi 'clean', tajiri 'rich', tele 'abundant', etc.

Whereas these invariable adjectives never take any class-concord when functioning as adjectives, either predicatively or attributively or even substantively,[97] an abstract noun indicating the quality or state expressed by them can be formed by prefixing the suitable class-prefix--generally {u}--to them, as to the adjective-stems used with the extensive nominal class-concord system, e.g., mwaka kamili 'a whole year', but ukamili 'completeness'; kiSwahili safi 'pure Swahili', but usafi 'correctness, purity (of language)'; siku haba 'a few days' (often with the connotation of 'insufficient time'), but uhaba 'scantiness'. No such abstract noun can be formed with the invariable kila, which only occurs with nouns in the singular, e.g., kila mtu 'everybody' (: watu wote).

(b) *numerals occurring with various class-concords*: They are the invariable numerals, i.e., the units 6, 7, 9 (*sita*, *saba*, *kenda* or *tisa*) and the tens, as well as 'hundred' (*mia*) and 'thousand' (*elfu*), e.g., *visu kumi na kimoja* 'eleven knives' (literally 'knives ten and one'); *maembe thelathini na matano* 'thirty-five mangoes'.[98]

(c) *interrogatives* functioning either as substitutives for nouns, like *nani* 'who?' and *nini* 'what?', or as pronominal adjectives, like *gani* 'what kind of?', e.g., *unamwita nani*? 'whom are you calling?'; *walitaka nini*? 'what did they want?'; *habari gani*? 'what's the news?' (equivalent to 'how are you?').

(d) *verbal forms*, e.g., *hodi*? 'may I come in?', *karibu* 'come in!'--the verbal concept of approaching having led to the formation of a string of derivatives from *karibu*, e.g., *karibia* 'approach', *karibisha* 'welcome, entertain', *karibiana* 'move close to each other', etc.

The second subgroup contains words whose function is formally:

(a) *to be linked up with a verb phrase or a clause*: these invariable words are traditionally described as 'adverbs' and divided into various subgroups on the basis of semantic categories, like time, place, manner, etc.

Structurally they include morphemically analyzable or unanalyzable forms. Some forms are analyzable as (1) *sterotyped forms of nouns* (with their class-prefix), e.g., *kesho* ({n} stem) 'tomorrow' (deverbative in {o} from the verbal root {keš} 'stay up at night, keep watch'); *mbele* 'before, in front' (actually, class 10 plural of dialectal *uwele* 'breast'); or as (2) *locatives in -ni of nominal stems*, e.g., *chini* 'down, below' from the nominal stem {ci} of *nchi* 'land, ground' (with the zero allomorph of the {n} prefix before the disyllabic locative stem). Similarly, the interrogative *lini* 'when?' consists of the pronominal class-concord {li} plus the locative suffix {ni};[99] further, *ovyo* 'anyhow' may be a remainder of a no longer extant pronominal formation. The unanalyzable forms are either Bantu roots and stems, like *juu* 'above', *nje* 'outside', *leo* 'today', *jana* 'yesterday', etc.-- or Arabic loans, like *bado* 'still, not yet', *tena* 'again', *bure* 'vainly', *labda* 'perhaps', etc.

Some of the invariables of this subgroup sometimes also apply to nominals, e.g., *sana* 'very (much)' in *kubwa sana* 'very big', *fundi sana* 'a good workman'; *kabisa* 'utterly' in *njema kabisa* 'as good as can be'. *Pia* is similarly used as an intensifier with -*ote* 'all', e.g., *wageni wote pia* 'all the guests without exception'.

(b) *to constitute with a following form* (either nominal or pronominal) *a phrase which is further connected with a verb phrase or clause* : to this subgroup belong *bila* 'without', *hata* 'till' (both Arabic loanwords), *tangu* 'since, from', *mpaka* 'till, as far as' (stereotyped form of the noun *mpaka* [plural *mipaka*] 'boundary'), *toka*/*tokea* 'from' (originally verbal stems meaning 'go out of, come from'), e.g., *tutakaa siku tano bila kazi* 'we will remain five days without work'; *walifika mpaka kwetu* 'they came as far as our house'; *atapata mayai toka sokoni* 'he will get eggs from the market'.

They are traditionally described as 'prepositions', but while *bila* is currently used with the infinitive, e.g., *waliondoka bila kulia* 'they left without crying', the others can also function as a link between two verb phrases or clauses in a subordinative construction (cf. (d) infra), e.g., *nitakungoja hapa mpaka uje* 'I will wait for you here until you come'.[100] Exclusively used as a preposition is *katika* 'in', which introduces nominal and pronominal indications of time and place, and acts as a substitute for the locative in -*ni* when the relevant noun is qualified by an adjective, e.g., *dukani* 'in the shop' versus *katika duka dogo lile* 'in that little shop'. This substitution is optional as well when the noun is used alone or with a pronominal determinative like the possessive adjective, e.g., *dukani mwetu* 'in our shop' ~ *katika duka letu*.

Actually, katika is a complex morpheme consisting of the invariable kati and the obsolete concord ka, which also occurs in the invariable kamwe 'at all' (in negative sentences), consisting of {ka} and the old Swahili numeral {mwe} 'one'. Structurally, katika is accordingly parallel to the complex kati ya 'between'.

(c) to link up a following word or group of words (including a clause) in a coordinative construction with the preceding word or group of words: these invariables are traditionally called 'coordinating conjunctions'; none of them is further analyzable, e.g., na 'and, also';[101] pia 'also, too', tena 'furthermore'; au 'or'; ama...ama 'either...or'; wala...wala 'neither...nor'; lakini 'but'; ila 'but, except'; bali 'but, on the contrary'.

(d) to introduce a clause which it links up in a subordinative construction with a preceding or following verb phrase or clause: these invariables, traditionally called 'subordinating conjunctions', are mainly ili '(in order) that', kama 'if, whether', kwamba 'that', kuwa 'that', the last two being structurally infinitives, with the {ku} prefix, of the roots {amb} 'say' and {w} 'be'; both also appear in complexes with ya, e.g., walisema $\left(\frac{\text{kwamba}}{\text{ya kwamba}}\right)$ amekuwa mwivi 'they said he had become a thief'; nilikuambia $\left(\frac{\text{kuwa}}{\text{ya kuwa}}\right)$ nimechoka 'I told you that I was tired'.

Besides, in suppositions, kama is often followed by kwamba, e.g., mtoto alilia kama kwamba amepigwa 'the child cries as if it had received a severe thrashing'.

(e) to be used as independent forms, e.g., the Muslim greeting salaam,[102] chub! (exclamation expressing contempt or impatience).[103]

2.4.5.2. Ideophones, i.e., sounds connected with a definite idea, without being necessarily onomatopoeic, occur rather frequently in expressive language in Swahili, especially in narrative style.

They are usually connected with a verb and consist of monosyllabic or disyllabic invariables, which are often reduplicated or even repeated several times, e.g., kuanguka pu 'to fall down accidentally'; kunuka fee 'to emit an unpleasant odor'; mitende inazaa kochokocho 'the date palms are loaded with fruit'; etc. Many ideophones have, however, been lexicalized, e.g., chepechepe in kulowa chepechepe 'to be soaked to the skin', now used as an adjective with the meaning 'soaked'. Others have become productive as verbal roots, e.g., mwa, applying to gushing out liquids, from which the verb mwaga 'pour out' has been derived with the now obsolete repetitive suffix {g}.

2.5. Complex structures

Various morphemic complexes occur in Swahili which cannot be readily included in the regular inflectional patterns, though they show inflectional affixes. They are grouped here under the heading complex structures. These morphemic complexes include:

(a) locatives in -ni;
(b) complexes with the connective particle {a};
(c) complexes with the associative particle {na};
(d) complexes with the copulatives {ndi} and {si};
(e) relative complexes with amba;
(f) quasi-verbal complexes;
(g) verbal forms with clitics;
(h) complexes with ingine.

2.5.1. Locatives in -ni

Besides the locative classes 16, 17, and 18, indicating a definite location {pa} or an indefinite location {ku}, a movement to or from a place {ku} or a location inside a place {mu}, respectively, Swahili has a locative suffix -ni, which can assume all these functions according to the context in which the suffixed noun occurs, e.g.,

nitakwenda mwituni kuwinda 'I'll go to the forest to hunt';
weka mboga mezani 'Put the vegetables on the table';
wanawake wanaongea mlangoni 'Women are gossiping at the door'.

There are some restrictions to the occurrence of the locative nouns in -ni. Although they occur with possessives and complexes with the connective particle {a}, they are not used with a qualifying adjective, e.g.,

tunakwenda nyumbani kwa seremala 'We are going to the carpenter's house';

nilinunua ndizi dukani mwake 'I bought bananas in his shop';

but:

nilinunua ndizi katika duka dogo lile 'I bought bananas in that little shop'.

Some locative nouns have, however, been lexicalized and are no longer treated as such, e.g., pwani 'shore' (part of the coast affected by the tide).

2.5.2. Complexes with the connective particle {a}

The connective particle {a} preceded by the pronominal concord constitutes essentially two types of complexes with a following nominal complement, including the infinitive:

(a) the pronominal concord agrees with the preceding noun in compliance with the usual class-concord rules (cf. infra);

(b) the pronominal concord shows a stereotype form, depending on its function.

2.5.2.1. The first type either shows the possessor of the thing under reference or describes one of its characteristic features; in the case of a dependent infinitive, it indicates the purpose of the object under consideration, focussing mainly on the concept of instrumentality, e.g.,

(a) possession:

jembe la mkulima 'the hoe of the peasant';
viatu vya bwana Fulani 'Mr. X's shoes';
mwenyeji wa mji 'an inhabitant of the town'.

As shown by the last example above, in this context the concept of possession also implies the type of association evidenced by phrases like:

kikapu cha matunda 'a basket of fruit';
madirisha ya nyumba 'the windows of the house'; etc.

The pattern:

pronominal concord + {a} + possessor

is actually the same as that found in the possessive pronouns (2.4.3.3).

(b) *characterization*: though the pattern remains essentially the same:

pronominal concord + {a} + complement

subgroups may be distinguished, depending on the nature of the complement appearing in the complex. With a nominal complement, the following subgroups appear:

(1) the nominal is a noun, indicating what characterizes the object under consideration, e.g.,

kabati la mti 'a wooden cupboard' (literally, 'of wood');

maji ya baridi 'cold water' (literally, 'of cold').

In some cases the nominal is a noun of the {ki} class, indicating manner, e.g.,

nguo za kizungu 'clothes in European fashion'.

Actually, {ki} often functions as a *pre-prefix* in this meaning, so that contrastive pairs may appear, e.g., *desturi za kale* 'old customs': *desturi za kikale* 'old-fashioned customs'. In other cases, the nominal is a locative noun in -*ni*, e.g., *mtoto wa jikoni* 'kitchen-help' (i.e., small boy giving a hand to the cook in the kitchen);[104] *wanyama wa msituni* 'bush-animals'.

(2) the complement is an infinitive, e.g., *chumba cha kuzungumzia* 'sitting-room' (literally,'to chat'); *cherehani ya kushonea* 'sewing-machine' (literally,'to sew *with*').

(3) the complement is a numeral, denoting *order*, the pattern functioning as a substitute for the non-occurring ordinal numerals, e.g., *mtoto wa tano* 'the fifth child', *kitabu cha tatu* 'the third book'. However, to indicate the 'first', the infinitive *kwanza* 'to begin' is used instead of the numeral {moɟa}, and the numeral {wili} 'two'

appears under its allomorph /pili/ in the complex for the 'second', e.g., *kitabu cha kwanza* 'the first book', *mwezi wa pili* 'the second month'.

A pronominal complement usually implies locative connotations:

(1) with demonstratives, e.g., *waalimu wa pale* 'the teachers of that region';

(2) with possessives, e.g., *habari za kwetu* 'local news' (literally, 'of our place').

In the second case, the possessive itself is a locative consisting of the {ku} prefix of class 17, the connective particle {a}, and the possessive pronominal stem {itu}. This formation is also used independently to convey the idea of one's own place, i.e., 'home', e.g., *tunakwenda kwetu* 'we are going home'; the third person plural form has even been lexicalized in this meaning, e.g., *hana kwao* 'he has no home'.

Finally, the *complement* can also be an *invariable*, e.g., *safari ya mbali* 'a long journey' (literally, 'of far'); *mtu wa juzi* 'a new-comer' (literally, 'of the day before yesterday').

2.5.2.2. The second type of complexes with the connective particle {a} can be subdivided in subgroups according to the stereotyped class-prefix occurring with {a}:

(1) {i} + {a} *ya*;

(2) {ku} + {a} *kwa*.

The connective with {i} appears mostly after invariables[105] or nouns linked up with a verb phrase to denote a specification of time or place, e.g., *juu ya paa* 'up on the roof', *kabla ya saa tano* 'before 11:00 a.m.'.

The possessive pronouns with the {i} concord occur after the same as substitute for the personal pronouns, e.g., *juu yako* 'above you',[106] *kabla yenu* 'before you'. The possessive pronouns also occur after *peke*, indicating the state of being alone, by oneself or unique, e.g., *babaangu anakaa peke yake* 'my father lives alone'.

The connective with {ku} is much more widely used:

(1) to mark a location or direction when the following nominal or pronominal applies to persons,[107] e.g.,

Mtalala kwa Shaaban 'You will sleep at Shaaban's';

Ali amekwenda Tanga kwa mtoto wake 'Ali has gone to Tanga to his child('s)';

Nimetoka Unguja kwa Hussein 'I have come from Zanzibar, from Hussein's'.

This usage actually corresponds to the pattern:

Pronominal Concord + {a} + Complement

also appearing in the locative use of the possessive (cf. supra, 2.5.2.1).

(2) to express an associative concept, e.g., *sipendi wali kwa samaki* 'I don't like rice with fish'; *wazee kwa watoto* '(both) old people and children'. This associative concept appears with the meaning of 'in respect to' in the expression of measures, e.g., *wari tisa kwa wari tano* '9 yards by 5'; this pattern has also been applied to fractions for which no separate lexical item was available, e.g., *nane kwa tano* '$\frac{5}{8}$'; *mia kwa kumi na saba* '17%', but *nusu* '$\frac{1}{2}$', *kasa robo* '$\frac{3}{4}$' (literally, '(unit) less a quarter'; cf. *sita kasa robo* '$5\frac{3}{4}$').

(3) to mark the instrument involved in a definite activity, e.g., *hawawezi kukata nyama kwa uma* 'they cannot cut meat with a fork'; *alikwenda kwa reli*? 'did he go by train?'.

(4) to add specifications of purpose, manner and the like to a verb phrase, e.g., *kwinini yafaa sana kwa dawa ya homa* 'quinine is very useful as medicine against fever'; *walimpokea mgeni kwa furaha* 'they received the guest with joy'.

2.5.3. Complexes with the associative particle {na}

Closely parallel to the complexes with the connective particle preceded by a stereotype class-prefix are the *complexes with the* associative particle {na}. In general, complexes with {na} are used whenever the association of two concepts is expressed, e.g.,

lete kahawa na sukari 'bring coffee and sugar';
lete na maziwa pia 'bring milk, too' (additional request, with reference to the previous one);
niletee na mimi 'bring me some, too' (= to me, as well as to the others);
nataka tuseme mimi nawe 'I want us to talk together, you and I';
tutakwenda naye 'we will go with him'.

They also occur:

(1) after some invariables, e.g., karibu na ziwa 'near a lake'; pamoja na watoto wangu '(together) with my children';

(2) after associative verbs in non-reciprocal usage, e.g., tutapigana na maadui zetu 'we will fight with our enemies';

(3) after passive verbs, to introduce the agent, e.g., nguo hii ilishonwa na mkewe 'this dress was made (sewn) by his wife'.

In all these cases, the associative particle is also used with the bound form of the substitutive pronouns, e.g., karibu nami 'near me', pamoja nawe 'together with him', tutapigano nao 'we will fight with them', nguo hii ilishonwa naye 'this dress was made (sewn) by her'. In association with the verb kuwa 'to be',[108] na marks possession and appears with the bound form of the substitutive pronoun as well, e.g.,

ulikuwa na cheti? 'did you have a certificate?';
nilikuwa nacho 'I had it' (literally, 'I was with it');
vyeti alivyokuwa navyo 'the notes he had' (literally, 'which he was with them').

2.5.4. Complexes with the copulatives {ndi} and {si}

The affirmative and negative copulatives {ndi}[109] and {si} are commonly used with the bound form of the substitutive in a 'presentative' function, i.e., introducing the subject of the main verb with emphasis in order to identify it as such, e.g., *ndicho kitabu ninachokitaka* 'it is this book I want' (note the use of the relative mode in the main verb); *hapa ndipo nilipoishi* 'here is the place where I lived'.

These forms also appear independently to introduce a person or object, e.g., *ndicho kitabu* 'it is this book'; *sicho hiki* 'it is not this one'; *ndiwe* 'it is you'. *Ndivyo* 'it is so' and *sivyo* 'it is not so' are used more specifically to assent or dissent in connection with reported facts, whereas *ndiyo* and *siyo* convey the more general sense of 'yes' or 'no'.

2.5.5. Relative complexes with {amba}

As the use of the relative mode of the verb is restricted to a limited number of tenses (2.4.4.5), Swahili makes use of a substitute form consisting of the stem {amba}, from the verbal root {amb} 'say', plus the pronominal class-concord and the referential particle {o} to express relation in the other tenses, e.g., *barua ambayo haijafika ilipelekwa na shangazi wangu* 'the letter which has not yet arrived was sent by my aunt'. This relative complex is also used:

(a) when there is a difference in tense between the principal clause and the relative clause, or between two successive relative clauses, e.g., *Sijakisoma kitabu ambacho uliniazima* 'I have not yet read the book which you lent me'; *Nyama uliyoinunua jana ambayo tutaila usiku huu iko wapi*? 'Where is the meat which you bought yesterday, and which we shall eat tonight?'

(b) when the relative is connected with a complex consisting of an invariable plus a class-concord and the connective particle {a} (cf. supra, 2.5.2.2), e.g., *Ndicho kitabu ambacho atayaandika maono juu yake* 'This is the book which he will review' (literally, 'which he will write thoughts upon it').[110]

(c) for various stylistic reasons, e.g., to avoid separating the relative from its antecedent, e.g., in *waliazima chungu ambacho mkewe wala mpishi hawakitumii wanapopika wali* 'they borrowed the cooking-pot which neither his wife nor the cook ever use when preparing rice'.

2.5.6. Quasi-verbal complexes

Quasi-verbal complexes are forms which pattern like verbal forms, except for the fact that they do not contain a verbal root. They consist mainly of the initial pronominal subject-prefix, plus:

(1) the bound form of the referential substitutive of the locative classes, e.g., *nipo* 'I am here', *yumo* 'he is in there'[111], *kikapu kiko hapa* 'the basket is here'; *ngoma iko wapi*? 'where is the drum?'

(2) the associative particle {na}, associating a state or condition with a definite person or object or expressing possession, e.g., *una kisu*? 'have you (got) a knife?'; *tuna vitabu vingi* 'we have many books'; *una kiu*? 'are you thirsty?'; *kahawa hii ina moto* 'this coffee is hot'; etc.

The form with the associative particle {na} can also occur with the bound form of the referential substitutive, which then points to an already mentioned person or object. Thus, in *tunavyo* '(yes) we have', in answer to the question *mna vitabu vingi*? 'have you (got) many books?', *-vyo*, consisting of the pronominal concord {vi} of class 8 and the referential particle {o}, refers to *vitabu vingi*. Such a form is therefore often used to emphasize the object on which the attention is focussed, e.g., *kisu chako anacho Ali* 'Ali has your knife' (more literally, 'your knife, Ali is with it'); *farasi anaye Juma*? 'has Juma (got) the horse?' (more literally, 'the horse, is it with Juma?').

The usage of the initial pronominal subject-prefix with the locative referential substitutive and with the associative particle {na} and its nominal or pronominal complement is actually due to the non-occurrence of {li} 'be' in the indicative present after the initial prefix in modern Swahili. This is confirmed by:

(1) the parallel use of the locative referential substitutive in other tenses with *kuwa* 'to be', e.g., *nilikuwapo (hapa)* 'I was here';

(2) the use of the pronominal subject-prefix as such as a substitute for the relevant form of the verb 'to be', to link the subject with its predicate when the latter does

not assume the function of merely identifying the subject, but describes one of its features or states the condition the subject is in, e.g., *tunda li chungu* 'the fruit is bitter'; *chumba ki safi* 'the room is clean'.[112]

2.5.6.1. The quasi-verbal complexes with the locative concord-prefixes plus {o}, as well as those with the associative particle {na}, have *negative* forms which are obtained by prefixing the preinitial negative {ha} to the pronominal subject-prefix, with the substitution of {si} for *{ha} + {ni} in the first person singular, e.g., *hawapo* 'they are not here'; *sina pesa* 'I have no money'; *hatunayo* 'we have not (got them)' (in answer to a question like *mnayo mayai yale*? 'have you got those eggs?').

2.5.6.2. Quasi-verbal complexes with the associative particle {na}, preceded by the locative concord-prefix in the subject slot are quite common, e.g., *kuna simba msituni*? *Hakuna*. 'Is there a lion in the bush? There is not'. When such complexes are followed by the locative concord-prefix plus {o}, they function as relative forms, e.g., *tutarudi kunako motokaa yetu* 'we will return to where our car is'. In the negative form, the post-initial negative {si} is used, with {na} following the whole complex, e.g., *hatuendi kuwinda mwituni kusiko na wanyama* 'we do not go hunting in a forest where there are no animals'.

2.5.6.3. When the predicate of a sentence identifies its subject, the pronominal subject-prefix is used in the first and second person singular and plural, but in the third person *ni* is used for all classes in the affirmative order, and *si* in the negative order, e.g., *ni wapagazi* 'they are porters', *ni mlima* 'it is a mountain', *Juma si mpishi* 'Juma is not a cook'. It is thus possible to contrast *matunda zi chungu* 'the fruits are bitter' (state), with *matunda ni machungu* 'the fruits are bitter ones' (identification).[113] To express a state, negative forms with {si} appear as a rule, but for persons, the preinitial {ha} plus the pronominal subject-prefix may also be used, e.g., *hayu dhaifu* 'he is not weak'; {si} is always used when the predicate describes the subject, e.g., *Juma yu mrefu, Abdalla si mrefu* 'Juma is tall, Abdalla is not tall'.

2.5.7. Verbal forms with clitics

Several clitics occur with verbal forms in postfinal position; they are mainly the interrogative particles {pi} 'where?', {ni} 'what for', {ɟe} 'how', e.g., *wanakwendapi*? 'where are they going?'; *unaliani*? 'what are you crying for?'; *alijuaje*? 'how did he know?'.[114] In the older language, e.g., in proverbs, a clitic {to} occurs to express the accurate execution of the verbal action, e.g., *ukitema kuni temato* 'if you cut firewood (in the bush), cut it well!'.

2.5.8. Complexes with ingine

The morphemic complexes with *ingine* are characterized by the suffixation of the pronominal class-concord plus the referential particle {o} to the adjective stem, besides the normal use of the adjectival class-concord as a prefix. These morphemic complexes express the idea of an indefinite set of similar persons or objects, e.g., *wakulima, wachunga na wengineo hawataki kukaa mjini* 'farmers, herdsmen, and other such people do not want to live in town'; *shambani mwetu tunapanda viazi, maboga, na mboga zinginezo* 'in our field we plant yams, pumpkins, and various other vegetables'.

2.6. Syntax

2.6.1. Concord

As a rule, if we disregard the first and second person forms, nouns belong to definite pairs of classes marking their singular and their plural forms, respectively, whereas the other nominals, as well as the pronominal stems and the flexional forms of verbs, appear in all classes with definite concord prefixes, whose choice depends upon the noun with which they are connected. There are three types of relationships in which the noun controls the concord prefixes of the other flexional grammatical categories:

(1) *Attributive Determination*, e.g., *shauri langu* 'my advice';

(2) *Predicative Determination*, e.g., *matende ni mabovu* ~ *matende yameoza* 'the dates are rotten';

(3) *Substitution*, e.g., *(mizigo hii) tuliichukua* '(these loads) we carried them'.

2.6.1.1. Although the class of the concord prefixes occurring in the other flexional categories is normally controlled by the class of the noun with which they are connected, this control is overruled in some specific cases when a noun denotes an animate being but does not belong to the personal classes 1 and 2.[115] The concord prefixes of the personal classes 1 and 2 appear with names of persons or animals belonging to classes:

(a) 3 and 4, e.g., *mtume*, plural *mitume* 'apostle(s)';

(b) 5 and 6, e.g., *bwana*, plural *mabwana* 'master(s)'; *seremala*, plural *maseremala* 'carpenter(s)'; *shangazi*, plural *mashangazi* 'paternal aunt(s)';

(c) 7 and 8, e.g., *kipofu*, plural *vipofu* 'blind person(s)'; *kiboko*, plural *viboko* 'hippo(s)';

(d) 9 and 10, e.g., *ndugu* 'brother(s)'; *nyoka* 'snake(s)'; *tembo* 'elephant(s)'.

Examples are:

mitume wawili walikufa 'two apostles died';
mna viboko wakubwa mtoni 'there are big hippos in the river';
ninataka fundi mwelekevu 'I want a skilled craftsman';
tuliua nyoka mrefu kiwanjani 'we killed a long snake on the grounds'.

However, the possessives used with names of persons or animals belonging to the {n} class take the prefixes of class 9 and 10 when referring to persons, either in the singular or in the plural, and the prefix of class 10 when referring to animals in the plural,[116] e.g.,

nilimwuza ng'ombe wangu 'I sold my cow', but *niliuza ng'ombe zangu* 'I sold my cows';
baba yangu anataka kuoa tena 'my father wants to marry again';
ndugu zangu wanakataa 'my brothers say 'no''.

Similarly, the prefix of class 10 is used with possessives referring to names of persons of the {n} class with which the prefix of class 6, {ma}, functions as pre-prefix to indicate collectiveness, e.g., *maadui zetu* 'our enemies', *mababa zake* 'his ancestors', whereas the class 2 concord is regularly used in the plural with names of persons belonging normally to classes 5 and 6, e.g., *maumbu wangu watatu waliolewa* 'my three (younger) sisters were married'.[117] Besides, diminutives and augmentatives of names of persons or animals usually take the concords of their respective classes, i.e., {ki} and {vi} for the diminutives and {ɟi} and {ma} for the augmentatives, especially when they are used in a derogatory meaning, e.g., *kitoto changu kitakufa*? 'will my child die?'; *fukuza kitwana hiki* 'chase away this little rascal''; *kuna majitu mengi mjini* 'there are a lot of giants in the town'. However, some speakers prefer to use the concords of the personal classes (1 and 2) here as well; this is the case as a rule with *kijana* 'youth', applying to a child of seven and above (e.g., *mtoto apatapo miaka saba, amekuwa kijana mwenye akili* 'when a child reaches seven years (of age), he has become a youth possessing some sense').

2.6.1.2. The class 2 plural form *wake* of the noun *mke* 'wife' requires the concord of class 10 in the possessive, e.g., *wake zenu* 'your wives'.

2.6.1.3. Some adjectives, like *chungu* 'bitter', *tamu* 'sweet' and *tupu* 'empty', show no class-concord in predicative determination if they are preceded by the pronominal subject prefix functioning as quasi-verbal copulative (cf. 2.5.6), e.g., *muhogo huu u chungu* 'this cassava is bitter'.[118] This construction, which denotes the condition or state of the subject is, however, usually replaced by the construction with the copulative particle *ni*, which requires the occurrence of the regular concord-prefix in the predicate, e.g., *muhogo huu ni mchungu*. In colloquial speech, *ni* is frequently left out, e.g., *muhogo huu mchungu*.

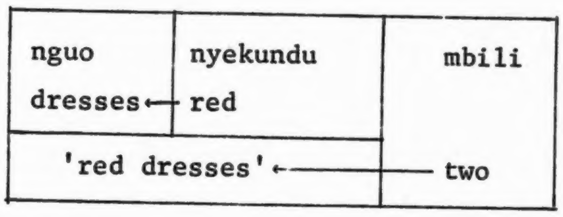
2.6.2. Phrase structure

2.6.2.1. Noun phrases

Nouns can occur in isolation or as nuclei of phrases containing one or more peripheral elements applying to them as attributive determinatives. These attributive determinatives can be one or more adjectives or pronominals (demonstrative, possessive, etc.), a complex with the connective particle {a}, a relative form, etc.

As a rule, the noun appears in initial position in the group, though sometimes the demonstrative indicating non-proximity and (less frequently) proximity may precede it. This occurs mainly in direct style, when the noun determined by the demonstrative is precisely the subject of the conversation, e.g., *akamwambia hii mikebe ni yangu* 'and he told him: the canisters are mine!'; *alituonyesha kule msituni* 'he showed us: there in the bush!'.[119]

The relative order of the attributive determinatives depends upon the closeness of their semantic association with the noun to which they apply. A noun phrase like *nguo nyekundu mbili* 'two red dresses' can be analyzed as follows with regard to its immediate constituents:



i.e., *two* applies to the *red dresses*, whereas *red* defines the the *dresses* more closely; therefore *nyekundu* immediately follows *nguo*, whereas *mbili* comes last. If it is specified that the 'red dresses' are long (and not short), the adjective *refu* will similarly appear in second position: *nguo nyekundu ndefu*, but if one wished to indicate that the 'long dresses' are red, one would say *nguo ndefu nyekundu*. In the same way, if one specifically wanted two dresses, indicating furthermore that they should be red, he would say *nguo mbili nyekundu*.

In the case of pronominals, the possessive is usually most closely associated with the noun and therefore usually follows it immediately, e.g., *nguo zake nyekundu mbili* 'her two red dresses'. This close association is also reflected by the enclitic use of the possessive (cf. 2.4.3.3), e.g., *nduguzo wake watatu* 'your three sisters'. However, in some cases, another attributive determinative may be more closely related with the noun and may therefore follow it immediately, e.g., *vikapu vidogo* vyangu 'my small baskets', when it is pointed out that the small baskets--not the large ones--are mine.

When following the noun, the demonstrative will appear after the possessive but before the adjective, e.g., matunda yetu haya mabivu 'these ripe fruits of ours', but again, if the adjectival determinative is more closely linked with the noun, it precedes the demonstrative, e.g., matunda mabivu haya 'these ripe fruits'.[120] Similarly, the respective position of the indefinite -ote and the demonstrative depends on the same principle of closer semantic association, e.g., miaka yote hii 'all these years' (as opposed to another complete set of years): miaka hii yote 'these years, as a whole'.

The same rule applies to complexes with the connective particle {a} as well as to -enye, followed by a complement, e.g., watu wa bara wote 'all the people of the mainland', njia zenye mawe hizi mbili 'these two stony roads', in which the association of the complex with the connective particle {a} or of -enye, plus its nominal complement, with their respective phrase nuclei is closer than that of the indefinite -ote or of the demonstrative and the numeral. Similarly, in siku tatu zilizopita 'three days ago', the relative form follows the numeral as it refers the 'three days', as a whole period, to the past.

The interrogative -pi usually appears in final position, because it applies to the whole preceding group of the noun and its other attributive determinatives, e.g., miti yenye miiba ipi? 'which thorny trees?'; watoto watatu wepi? 'which three children?'.

2.6.2.1.1. In most cases, the attributive determinatives can function substantively when the noun is omitted, e.g.,

lete vyeupe vitano 'bring five white ones' (i.e., vikombe 'cups');
chukua hii yote 'carry all these' (i.e., mizigo 'loads');
unataka vipi? 'which ones do you want?' (i.e., viazi 'potatoes').

2.6.2.1.2. The invariable kila 'every' always precedes the noun with which it is associated, e.g., kila siku 'every day'. It is often used substantively in correlation with a relative form to indicate:

(a) any particular realization of a set of possible occurrences, e.g., kila atakapokuja 'every time he will come';

(b) all possible unspecified locations or directions, e.g., kila tuendako 'wherever we go';

(c) any optional person or matter (the implied nouns mtu or neno or jambo govern the class-concord in the relative morpheme), e.g., kila atakayepita 'whoever will pass by', kila asemalo 'whatever he says'.

2.6.2.1.3. The substitutive always occurs in initial position in noun phrases, e.g., ninyi nyote 'all of you', sisi peke yetu 'we alone'. This also applies to the pronominal forms with -ote, whose first component is the bound form of the substitutive, e.g., nyote watano 'all five of you'.

2.6.2.1.4. When two nouns of which one is a proper name, constitute the phrase the proper name appears as a rule in second position, e.g., bwana Musa 'Mr. Musa', Inspekta Sefu 'Inspector Sefu'.

2.6.2.2. Verb phrases

2.6.2.2.1. Phrase consisting of a verb and its non-verbal determinatives. A verbal form can be accompanied by various types of determinatives which are closely linked up with it to add definite specifications to the process or state described by the verb. These determinatives can be:

(a) invariables;

(b) locatives;

(c) nominal and pronominal forms with a stereotyped class-concord;

(d) nouns or noun phrases;

(e) complexes with kwa and a nominal complement.[121]

Invariables usually give specifications of time, place, manner, state or degree, e.g., alikuja karibu 'he came near'; hawajakula bado 'they have not yet eaten'; potelea mbali 'go and be hanged' (imprecation, meaning literally 'perish utterly'), hatutaki kabisa 'we absolutely refuse', etc. Among them, special mention should be made of the ideophones which mainly contribute to the expressiveness of the style, e.g., amelala fofofo 'he is fast asleep'. The locatives give specifications of place and time; they include:

(1) nominal forms of the locative classes (16, 17 and 18), e.g., walikwenda kwingine 'they went in another direction'; pengine tunashona 'sometimes we sew';

(2) pronominal forms of the locative classes (16, 17 and 18), e.g., njoo hapa 'come here'; alikwenda kule 'he went there'; umerudi pale pale 'you have returned at that very moment';

(3) nouns with the locative suffix -ni (exclusively used for indications of place, except for lexicalized forms like jioni 'at dusk'), e.g., ana(k)oga mtoni 'he is bathing in the river'.

A similar locative specification in space or time is given by:

(1) katika, plus a nominal complement, e.g., ondoka katika kitanda 'get off the bed'; tulikuwa katika kuandika 'we were (in the midst of) writing';

(2) complexes with invariables followed by ya or na plus a nominal complement,[122] e.g., utarudi kabla ya saa tano 'you will come back before 11:00 p.m.'; viweke ndani ya mfuko 'put them in(side) the bag'; ninakaa karibu na kanisa 'I'm living near the church'.

The prepositional phrases with hata, mpaka, tangu and toka(tokea) also belong to this group as they indicate the starting point or the (prospective) limitation of the verbal action in space or time, e.g., walipuzika tangu asubuhi hata jioni 'they gossip from morning till evening'; hatuji mpaka Jumamosi 'we will not come until Saturday'; siku ngapi toka Kisangani mpaka Lubumbashi? 'how many days (does it take) from Kisangani (Stanleyville) to Lubumbashi (Elisabethville)?'

Nominal and pronominal forms with stereotype class-concords mainly give specifications of manner; they include:

(a) adjectival and demonstrative stems with the class-prefix {vi}, e.g., alijibu vile vile 'she replied in the same way';

utaandika vizuri 'you will write nicely';

(b) noun stems with the class-prefix {ki}, e.g., *sicheze kitoto* 'don't play like a child'[123];

(c) possessive stems with the class-prefix {zi}, after the verb *kwenda* 'to go', e.g., *amekwenda zake* 'she's gone off'.

Nouns and noun phrases can give various kinds of specifications:

(1) place (as a rule with place-names and a few nouns like *shamba*, *posta*, etc.), e.g., *nimetoka Tabora* 'I have come from Tabora'; *tunakwenda posta* 'we are going to the post-office'; *wamekaa vyumba viwili* 'they live in two rooms';

(2) time, e.g., *tulirudi mwezi (wa) jana* 'we came back last month';

(3) cause, e.g., *alikufa njaa* 'he died of famine';

(4) instrument, e.g., *zijaze bilauri maziwa* 'fill the glasses with milk'; *walipigwa mawe* 'they were struck by stones';

(5) state, e.g., *sitembee kichwa wazi* 'don't take a walk bareheaded'; etc.

Particularly frequent is the use of nouns to specify to which precise object the verbal action applies to in particular, e.g., *ametulizwa moyo* 'she has been tranquillized' (literally, 'she has been brought to rest as to the heart'); *nimejikata mkono* 'I have cut my hand' (literally, 'I have cut myself as to the hand'; cf. the passive construction *nimevunjwa kiwiko cha mkono wangu* 'I have broken my wrist'--literally: 'I have been broken as to the wrist of my hand'); *mto umekauka maji* 'the river has dried up (as to the water)'. Complexes with *kwa* followed by names of persons or the pronominal stem of the possessive express a place or direction, e.g., *nimetoka kwa Najum* 'I have come from Najum'; *tutakwenda kwetu (saa tisa)* 'we shall go home (at 3:00 p.m.)'.

Complexes with *kwa*, plus a noun, express:

(a) a purpose, e.g., *utanjia kwa shauri* 'you will come to me for advice';

(b) a cause, e.g., *alikufa kwa ndui* 'he died of smallpox';

(c) a means, e.g., *nitakwenda kwa miguu* 'I'll go on foot';

(d) a manner, e.g., tusome kwa furaha 'let's read with pleasure'.

2.6.2.2.2. Phrases consisting of two verbs:

(a) When one of the verbs of a phrase consisting of two verbs is an infinitive, it actually assumes the same functions as a noun, e.g., as 'object' of verbs expressing a wish, a liking, a knowledge, an ability, etc., as in nilitaka kutembea 'I wanted to stroll', unapenda kushona? 'do you like to sew?' wajua kuandika 'they know how to write'; anaweza kuchungua asili ya mambo 'he is able to probe into the essence of things', etc. The infinitive may also precede an inflectional form of the same verb, thus concentrating the attention quite specifically on the process implied by the verb in question, e.g., kusoma asoma vitabu vingi 'as for reading, she reads many books'. This construction is functionally similar to the non-verbal determinatives which focus the attention on the specific object of the verbal action.

In colloquial speech, the infinitive sometimes follows an inflectional form of the same verb; it then marks particular emphasis, e.g., tota kutota we 'drown!'. When two actions are closely associated, without implying a succession in time or a dependence of the second action on the performance of the first, the second verb can appear in the infinitive and be linked with the first by the associative particle na, e.g., watoto walisimama na kutazama ndege hao 'the children were standing and watching the birds'. The infinitive controlled by the verb kwisha 'to finish', expressing the completion of an action or the reaching of a state before the contextual time reference, and kwenda 'to go', stressing that the process is actually taking place at the time indicated in the context, is often replaced by the mere verbal stem (except for monosyllabic stems and kwenda), e.g.,

amekwisha kwenda 'he has already gone' (with reference to the moment of speech);

wakati huo karamu ilikuwa imekwisha anza 'at that moment, the banquet had already started;

usipokwenda kwa haraka watakuwa wamekwisha kula kabla hujafika 'if you don't hurry, they will already have eaten before you arrive';

kwa ajili ya uhuru wafungwa wengi walikwenda achiliwa 'on account of Independence numerous prisoners were being released'.

(b) Most frequent are the phrases consisting of two verbs in inflectional forms; they are traditionally described as 'compound tenses'. Swahili shows a great variety of them, though the association of inflectional forms is restricted by a set of rules. The most common type of inflectional groups of two verbs is the use of a marked tense of the verb *kuwa* with a marked tense of the main verb. Only three tenses occur as a rule in the main verb:

(1) the {na} tense, indicating that the action was actually taking place at the time of reference in the context;
(2) the {ki} tense, denoting a continuous or repeated process;
(3) the {me} tense, expressing the completion of the process or the state reached through it.

The tense-form of the verb *kuwa*, which precedes the main verb, either situates the action or state expressed by that verb, in *time*, or adds an *aspectual connotation* to it.

As regards the *time dimension*, it may be conceived either in a strictly linear way with reference to the time of speaking, as past, present or future, or, relative to another process or situation, as subsecutive.

The *aspectual connotations* involved are:

(1) the resultative, marked by {me};
(2) the habitual, marked by {hu};
(3) the conditional, marked by {ŋge} and {ŋgali};
(4) the concessive, marked by {ŋga} and {ɟapo}.

As for {ki}, it denotes co-occurrence, whether it be effective or suppositional. Except in proverbs and archaic language, the concessive forms with {ŋga} and {ɟapo} hardly ever occur with an initial other than {i}, which functions as impersonal pronominal prefix. This {i} initial is also widely used with the {ka}, {ki}, {ŋge} and {ŋgali} tenses of *kuwa*, and tends to appear with other tenses as well in colloquial speech.

The actually occurring affirmative and negative forms of the main verb appearing after the relevant forms of *kuwa* are shown in tabular form in Fig. 2 on page 151; in this tabulation the symbol (-) stands for the initial pronominal subject-prefix;[124] the symbol (R) represents either the root or the theme of the main verb; the blank spaces indicate the non-occurrence of the verbal group.

It will be noticed that negation is always marked in the main verb when it occurs in the {na} tense, whereas it is always marked in the relevant form of *kuwa* when the main verb is in the {ki} tense; when the main verb is in the {me} tense, the negation is either marked in the relevant form of *kuwa* or else the negative {ku} tense replaces the {me} tense.

The verb 'to be' can also appear in the subjunctive, but exclusively with affirmative forms of the main verb; however, an additional compound form with the indefinite {a} present of the main verb also occurs in this case.

Examples of the most commonly occurring marked tenses of *kuwa* with marked forms of the main verb are:

ndipo alipokuwa anavumilia taabu yote hii 'it was then that he suffered all this trouble';

mtoto alikuwa akicheza mlangoni 'the child used to play at the door';

wavulana watatu walikuwa wamejitupa sebuleni mwake 'three bachelors had burst (literally, 'thrown themselves') into his reception-room';

alikuwa hawezi kukaa hata dakika moja 'he could not even sit down for a minute';

mwaka ujao utakuwa ukisoma Makerere 'next year you will be studying at Makerere';

CONNOTATIONS	TENSE-MARKERS OF kuwa		TENSE-MARKERS OF THE MAIN VERB {na}		{ki}		{me}	
			Affirmative	Negative	Affirmative	Negative	Affirmative	Negative
Temporal	{na}	(Present)	-nakuwa -naRa	-nakuwa ha-Ri	-nakuwa -kiRa		-nakuwa -meRa	
	{li}	(Past)	-likuwa -naRa	-likuwa ha-Ri	-likuwa -kiRa	ha-kuwa -kiRa	-likuwa meRa	ha-kuwa -meRa
	{ta}	(Future)	-takuwa -naRa	-takuwa ha-Ri	-takuwa -kiRa	ha-takuwa -kiRa	-takuwa -meRa	ha-takuwa -meRa
	{ka}	(Subsecutive)	-kawa -naRa	-kawa ha-Ri	-kawa -kiRa		-kawa -meRa	
	{ki}	(Effectively co-occurrent Suppositional)	-kiwa -naRa	-kiwa ha-Ri	-kiwa -kiRa	-sipokuwa -kiRa	-kiwa -meRa	-kiwa ha-kuRa
Aspectual	{me}	(Resultative)		-mekuwa ha-Ri	-mekuwa -kiRa			
	{hu}	(Habitual)	huwa -naRa	huwa ha-Ri	huwa -kiRa		huwa -meRa	
	{ŋge}	(Conditional)	-ngekuwa -naRa	-ngekuwa ha-Ri	-ngekuwa -kiRa	-singekuwa -kiRa	-ngekuwa -meRa	-singekuwa -meRa
	{ŋgali}		-ngalikuwa -naRa	-ngalikuwa ha-Ri	-ngalikuwa -kiRa	-singalikuwa -kiRa	-ngalikuwa -meRa	-singalikuwa -meRa
	{ŋga}	(Concessive)	-ngawa -naRa	-ngawa ha-Ri	-ngawa -kiRa		-ngawa -meRa	-ngawa ha-kuRa
	{ɉapo}		-japokuwa -naRa	-japokuwa ha-Ri	-japokuwa -kiRa		-japokuwa -meRa	-japokuwa ha-kuRa
Modal		(Subjunctive)	-we -naRa		-we -kiRa		-we -meRa	

Fig. 2

usipomsaidia hatakuwa akichimba shimo hili 'unless you help him, he will not keep on digging this hole';

usije jioni ninapokuwa ninaandika barua 'don't come in the evening when I am engaged in writing letters';

tende zi mbivu mno kabisa hata zimekuwa haziuzikani 'the dates are so exceedingly ripe that they have become impossible to sell';

alikuwa akifanya kazi usiku kucha hata akawa analala mezani 'he used to work all night until he fell asleep on the table';

kila tukikutana nawe mjini huwa unaondoka kwenda bara 'whenever we meet you in town, you are always about to leave for the mainland';

ikiwa nimekustua itakuwa nimekuroga, lakini ikiwa nimekuzindua itakuwa nimekuzingua 'if I have taken you aback, I will have bewitched you, but if I have awakened you with a start, I will have relieved you from a spell';

alikuwa tayari kumwamini kwa lo lote atakalosema ingawa alikubali kuwa ni vigumu wakati mwingine maneno yake kufahamika 'he was ready to trust him for anything he would say, though he acknowledged that it was difficult for his words to be remembered at some other time';

wasingekuwa wamelala tungeweza kucheza karata pamoja nao 'if they were not asleep we could play cards with them';

singalikuwa nimechoka ningalitembea mjini 'if I had not been tired, I would have taken a stroll in town';

ijapokuwa unamaliza kazi yako usiku huu, hutaweza kupata malipo yako kabla ya Jumatatu 'even though you may finish your work tonight, you will not be able to get your payment before Monday'.

Used exclusively with the initial {i} functioning as impersonal pronominal subject prefix, the {ki}, {ŋge}, {ŋga} and {ɟapo} tenses of *kuwa* also occur in correlation with other tenses of the main verb to add conditional and concessive connotations to them. The commonly occurring forms are shown in tabular form in Fig. 3 on page 154. Examples are:

ikiwa tutasafiri bara miezi mitano tutataka kufunga mizigo mara tuwezapo 'if we are going to travel for five months on the continent, we will want to finish packing as soon as we can';

ikiwa mtoto hucheza mlangoni pa mshoni viatu, labda atataka kumsaidia baadaye 'if the child gets into the habit of playing at the shoemaker's door, perhaps he'll want to help him next';

ingekuwa hawakuugua wakati ule wangekuja hapa? 'if they had not been ill at that moment, would they have come here?';

ingawa nilitia mbolea nyingi shamba langu halikuzaa mavuno mengi 'even though I put on a lot of manure, my field did not yield a sizable crop';

ijapokuwa utampa fedha nyingi hatakusaidia 'even though you may give him a lot of money, he will not help you'.

Sometimes, only *japo* is used instead of *ijapokuwa*, e.g., *lazima aende japo hawakumwagiza* 'he must go, even though they have not given him instructions'. Furthermore, the past {li} and the future {ta} tenses of *kuwa* occur with the negative {ɟa} tense of a verb to indicate that an action has *not yet* occurred or a state has *not yet* been reached at the time of reference, e.g.,

wakati huo walikuwa hawajamaliza kazi yao 'at that time, they had not yet finished their work'.

Another current verbal grouping involving the verb 'to be' is the use of the persistive {ŋga} tense of the stem {li}:

(a) in the present, it occurs with the imperfective {ki} tense or the perfective {me} tense of the main verb, e.g., *tuliwaona watoto wale wangali wakicheza mlangoni* 'we saw those children still playing at the door';

(b) in the past and the future, a different pattern is used, consisting of:

ASPECTUAL CONNOTATION	TENSE-MARKERS OF kuwa	TENSE-MARKERS OF THE MAIN VERB			
		{li} (Past)		{ta} (Future)	{hu} (Habitual)
		Affirmative	Negative	Affirmative	Affirmative
Conditional	{ki}	ikiwa -liRa	ikiwa ha-kuRa	ikiwa -taRa	ikiwa huRa
	{ŋge}		ingekuwa ha-kuRa		
Concessive	{ŋga}	ingawa -liRa	ingawa ha-kuRa		
	{ɟapo}	ijapokuwa -liRa	ijapokuwa ha-kuRa	ijapokuwa -taRa	

Fig. 3

(1) the {li} or {ta} tense of *kuwa*;

(2) the {ŋga} tense of {li};

(3) the infinitive of the main verb, so that the contrast between imperfective and perfective is neutralized, e.g., *nzige watakuwa wangali kulia* 'the locusts will still be chirping'.

The verb *kuja* also occurs in correlation with another verb in the future or the subjunctive[125] in the affirmative order, and in the {ka} tense, in the negative,[126] to indicate that the action expressed by this verb is to take place at the time of reference in the near or distant future, e.g.,

nenda ukanunue matunda, tuje tuyale jioni 'go and buy some fruit, so that we may eat them tonight';

usome kwa bidii usije ukashindwa 'study strenuously, lest you should fail';

(c) The verb *kuwa* also appears in a set of phrases with quasi-verbal forms, including the affirmative and negative copulatives *ni* and *si*, the pronominal subject-prefix used alone or in connection with the enclitic associative -*na*, and with the referential enclitic locatives -*ko*, -*po*, and -*mo*. Except for *ni* and *si*, which do not occur after the {ŋgali} tense, all these quasi-verbal forms are to be found after the {li}, {ta}, {ka}, {hu}, {ki}, {ŋga}, {ɟapo}, {ŋge} and {ŋgali} tenses of *kuwa*. The function of these phrases is to add particular specifications to the statement, e.g., in the {ka} tense, to relate the stated fact more closely to what precedes and point it out as a consequence of it. Examples are:

mara nduguze wake wote watakapokuwa wa tayari, atakuwa anakuja 'as soon as all his sisters are ready, he will be on his way';

ikiwa ni mitamu utanunua mikate miwili 'if they are sweet, you will buy two loaves';

alipoingia shimoni Ali alikuwa hana hofu 'when he entered the cave, Ali had no fear';

kila tukirudi kazini huwa tuna (maneno) mengi ya kusema 'every time we come back from work, we have a lot to say';

ingawa nina homa nimetaka kufanya kazi yangu 'although I have a fever, I have wanted to do my work';

ajapokuwa ana mali hajasaidia ndugu zake 'though he has property, he has not helped his brothers'.

2.6.3. The clause

A clause can be a sentence in its own right or a part of a sentence. It consists of a predicate, or of a sequence including a separate subject and a predicate, e.g., *ni mpishi* 'I am a cook', *Ali si mrefu* 'Ali is not tall'. The predicate as a rule contains a morpheme referring to the subject, i.e., the initial pronominal prefix, or the invariable copulative *ni* or *si*. The predicate can be:

(a) *nominal*, usually with agreement in class-concord between the subject and the predicate, when such an agreement is morphologically possible, e.g., *Juma ni mpagazi* 'Juma is a porter', *tende zi mbovu* 'the dates are rotten';

(b) *nomino-verbal*, with a tense-form of the verb 'to be' showing the relevant pronominal subject-prefix,[127] e.g., *Juma alikuwa mpagazi* 'Juma was a porter'; *tende zimekuwa mbovu* 'the dates are rotten' (literally, 'have become rotten');

(c) *verbal*, with a tense-form showing the relevant pronominal subject-prefix, e.g., *Juma alichukua mizigo* 'Juma carried loads', *tende zimeoza* 'the dates have gone rotten'.

2.6.3.1. Nominal clauses

Nominal clauses show three types of links between the subject and the predicate:

(a) *The pronominal subject prefix*:

(1) when the nominal predicate indicates a state or describes the subject, e.g., *ndugu yangu yu macho* 'my brother is awake' (literally, 'he-eyes'); *machungwa ya tamu* 'oranges are sweet';[128]

(2) when the nominal predicate is introduced by the associative particle {na}, e.g., kahawa hii ina baridi 'this coffee is cold' (literally, 'it-with-cold');[129] shangazi wangu ana homa 'my aunt has fever' (literally, 'she-with-fever').

In both cases, the pronominal subject-prefix can, however, assume the function of subject on its own, e.g., tu tayari 'we are ready', mna kiu? 'are you thirsty?', u mbivu 'it is ripe'.

When the predicate is a locative, the pronominal subject-prefix is followed by the relevant locative class-concord plus the referential particle {o};[130] the whole complex then functions as a link between the subject and the locative predicate, e.g., wanafunzi wako wapi? 'where are the pupils?'. If the subject is not explicitly expressed, the pronominal subject prefix in the complex acts as a substitute for it, e.g., wako kiwanjani 'they are on the playground'.

In the negative form, {ha} is prefixed to the pronominal subject-prefix (si- appearing instead of *{ha} + {ni} in the first person singular) when it is followed by the associative -na or the referential locatives -ko, -po, -mo, e.g., sina kiu 'I am not thirsty', hawako nyumbani 'they are not home'. When the predicate indicates the state of the subject, the same construction can only be used for persons, e.g., hawa tayari 'they are not ready'.

(b) The copulative ni and its negative counterpart si, when the predicate identifies the subject, though the subject need not be explicitly expressed, e.g., Ahmed ni mwalimu 'Ahmed is a teacher', si kijiko 'it is not a spoon'.

In the first and second person singular and plural, the pronominal subject prefix is, however, used in the affirmative order, e.g., u nani? 'who are you?'; m waalimu? 'are you teachers?', but sisi si wevi 'we are not thieves'.[131]

The negative copulative si is also used instead of the pronominal subject-prefix when the predicate describes the subject or indicates a state, e.g., *Abdulla si mrefu* 'Abdulla is not tall', *wewe si tayari* 'you are not ready'.

(c) The presentative *ndi* and its negative counterpart *si*, followed by the bound form of the substitutive, e.g., *ndicho kikapu* 'it is the basket', *siyo haya* 'it is not these'.[132]

Moreover, the first two links may be omitted in the affirmative order when:

(a) the subject itself is a pronoun, e.g., *sisi waandikaji* 'we are writers';

(b) the subject is followed by a possessive or a demonstrative, e.g., *vikombe vyangu vyeupe* 'our cups (are) white', *mwavuli huu wako* 'this umbrella is yours'.

Word-order is generally fixed in all these clauses, the predicate appearing after the link or the subject; however, when a demonstrative is added to the clauses with the presentative *ndi* or *si*, the predicate is placed in first position, e.g., *vikapu ndivyo hivi* 'these are the baskets', *ndoo sizo zile* 'these are not the buckets'. Besides, if the link is maintained when the subject is followed by a possessive or demonstrative, the predicate with *ni* may precede the subject, e.g., *tunda hili ni tini* ~ *ni tini tunda hili* 'this fruit is a fig'. The same occurs when the subject is a nominal group with a relative form as attributive determinative, e.g., *matunda yaliyooza ni tende* ~ *ni tende matunda yaliyooza* 'the fruit which rotted is dates'.

In interrogative clauses, the question signal appears as a rule in final position, e.g., *kitabu kiko wapi*? 'where is the book?'; *shoka hili la nani*? 'whose axe is this?', but to focus the attention on the object of the question, the relevant term may be shifted to the final position, where is is pronounced on a low pitch level after the falling pitch on the question signal, e.g., *kiko wapi kitabu*?; *shoka la nani hili*?[133]

2.6.3.2. Nomino-verbal clauses

The verb 'to be' assumes the same function as the link in the nominal clauses. Similarly, the predicate can:

(a) identify the subject, e.g., Najum alikuwa kijana wa kiarabu 'Najum was an Arab youth';

(b) describe its state, e.g., matunda hayakuwa mabivu 'the fruits were not ripe;

(c) indicate what is associated with it; in this case, the verb kuwa is followed by the associative particle {na}, e.g., hawakuwa na fedha 'they had no money'; mtakuwa na kiu 'you will be thirsty';

(d) indicate its location, e.g., tulikuwa nyumbani 'we were in the house'; in this case, the bound form of the substitutive may, however, be suffixed as postfinal to the verbal form to yield verbal forms like hawakuwako 'they were not there', in which subject and predicate are integrated into one and the same morphemic complex.

2.6.3.3. Verbal clauses

The most common structure of a verbal clause is:

Subject	Verb	Object

in which the subject normally indicates the element which takes the most active part in the verbal process, unless the verb is a derivative in {w}, e.g., wanafunzi wasoma vitabu 'pupils read books', but vitabu vyasomwa na wanafunzi 'books are read by pupils'. However, in definite cases, the object to which the verbal action specifically applies may alternately function as a subject, i.e., control the morphemic signal which occurs in the initial (subject) slot of the verbal complex. In such cases the most active element in the verbal process controls the morphemic signal which occurs in the infix (object) slot, unless it has specific locative connotations, e.g., jeraha lilitoka damu 'the wound was bleeding': damu ililitoka jeraha 'blood was coming from the wound'; mtoto alivimba goti 'the child swelled as to the knee':[134] goti lilimvimba mtoto 'the knee swelled as regards the child'; but mto umekauka maji 'the river has dried up as to the water': maji yamekauka mtoni 'the water has dried up in the river'.

A special case of this focussing of the verbal process on the object to which it specially applies is the so-called locative construction,[135] in which the locative controls the morphemic signal in the initial (subject) slot of the verbal complex, e.g.,

hapa pamelala paa 'an impala is asleep here' (literally, 'here there-has-lied-down an impala');

kule mjini kumeugua watu wengi 'in that town many people are ill' (literally, 'there in town there-has-fallen-ill many people').

As the subject is mostly marked in the verbal complex by a morphemic signal, and as the object can be marked in the same way, the verbal complex as such often functions as a clause. However, in the non-relative forms the infix slot is only filled when the attention is obviously focussed on the object, e.g., in answering the question: *umeleta gazeti*? 'have you brought the newspaper?', a servant would normally reply *nimeleta, bwana* 'I have (brought), Sir'; but if special emphasis had been put on the newspaper in question by inserting the relevant pronominal object-prefix in the verbal forms *umelileta gazeti*? ~ *gazeti umelileta*?, the servant's answer would have been *nimelileta, bwana*.

Such emphasis on the object is even made more conspicuous by adding the possessive to it, especially when it is a noun belonging to the personal class, e.g., *umewaona wapagazi wangu*? 'have you seen my porters?'

When the verb is an applicative stem, the attention is focussed on the person or the thing to whom or which the verbal process is specifically directed. Consequently, the morphemic signal in the infix slot of the verbal complex is controlled by the nominal representing this person or thing, e.g.,

anashona viatu 'he sews (= makes) shoes'; *ananishonea viatu* 'he makes shoes for me'.

If a passive in {w} is derived from the applicative verb, the nominal which controlled the infix slot in it, now controls the initial (subject) slot of the passive derivative,[136] e.g., *nilimwandikia barua* 'I wrote a letter for him' → *aliandikiwa barua nami* 'he had a letter written by me',

as compared to:

niliandika barua 'I wrote a letter' → *barua iliandikwa nami* 'the letter was written by me'.

A similar construction occurs with non-applicative verbs, namely:

(1) when the *object* to which the action is specifically directed is a *part of the body*: the infix slot is then controlled by the animate being whose body is affected by the process, e.g.,

amejikata kidevu 'he has cut his chin';
hamtaniona uso tena 'you will not see my face again';
walimkata kichwa ndege 'they cut the bird's head' (literally, 'the bird as to its head');[137]

(2) when the *indirect object* is a *person*, with verbs like *kupa* 'to give', *kulipa* 'to pay', etc., e.g., *tutampa mzee saa* 'we will give the old man a watch'; *wamekulipa deni zao* 'they have paid you their debts'.

In these cases, in relative forms, the infix slot is being controlled by the nominal representing the person to whom the verbal process is specifically directed, whereas the relative slot is controlled by the antecedent, e.g., *nikulipe mema yako uliyonitendea* 'let me pay back the kindness which you did me'; *saa tuliyompa imevunjika* 'the watch which we gave him is broken'.

As regards word-order, the nominal indicating the object to which the action is specifically directed follows the verb and precedes the nominal indicating the object undergoing the verbal process, except in clauses with a passive derivative verb.

2.6.3.4. Relative clauses

Relative clauses have a relative form of the verb as their nucleus. They are essentially adnominal, i.e., they belong to the same noun phrase as their antecedent and pattern as any attributive determinative of the same, if it is a noun, e.g.,

mayai uliyoyanunua ni mabovu 'the eggs you bought are bad', parallel to *mayai haya ni mabovu* 'these eggs are bad' or *mayai madogo ni mabovu* 'the small eggs are bad'.

If the initial of the relative form is controlled by the antecedent, the relative form is subjective; when used autonomously, it can function as the subject of a verb and control its initial (subject) prefix, e.g.,

watu wanaongoja mlangoni wanataka kazi 'the people who are waiting at the door want work'→ wanaongoja mlangoni wanataka kazi 'those waiting at the door want work'.

Otherwise, the relative form is objective and is as a rule followed by its own subject, if it is actually expressed outside the initial subject slot, e.g.,

vitabu wasivyovisoma watoto 'the books which children do not read'.

The locative relative forms assume the same adnominal functions as the other relative forms, e.g., sijui mahali walipokuwapo 'I don't know the place where they were'; they can also occur autonomously, functioning, e.g., as direct object of a verb in hatupajui mnapokaa 'we do not know where you live', where the locative form controls the morphemic signal in the infix slot of the main verb. However, locative relative clauses also assume adverbial functions, appearing in connection with another verbal clause to add specifications of place and time to it,[138] e.g.,

kila niendapo nakuta watu wa kuambilika 'wherever I go, I meet affable persons';

mwalimu anapokasirika wanafunzi huogopa sana 'when the teacher gets angry, the pupils are (usually) much afraid'.

The negative form of the locative relative {po} describes a condition upon which the performance of another verbal process depends as not realized at the time under consideration, e.g., nisipokuja hataweza kufanya kazi hii 'if I do not come, he will not be able to do this work'. Furthermore, the relative form in -vyo marks specifications of manner, reason, degree, etc., e.g.,

tuonavyo sisi hawakusikia maneno haya 'as we think, they have not understood these words';

nitasoma kadiri niwezavyo 'I shall read as much as I can'.

2.6.3.5. Subordination without conjunction

Subjunctive forms often constitute subordinate clauses without morphemic link to the principal clause. This occurs:

(a) when the clause in the subjunctive expresses a purpose or intention, e.g.,

nipe shilingi ishirini ninunue nyama na mboga 'give me 20 shillings to buy meat and vegetables';

tunamzuru Hussein atuambie habari yake[139] 'we are paying a visit to Hussein in order that he tell us his news';

(b) when the subjunctive depends upon verbs expressing a statement, an order or a request, e.g.,

mwambie baba yako aje jioni 'tell your father to come in the evening';

mwombe alete vitabu vyake 'ask him to bring his books';[140]

(c) when a *negative* subjunctive depends upon a verb expressing a denial, prohibition, or prevention, e.g.,

mwalimu aliwakataza wanafunzi wasipayuke darasani 'the teacher forbade the pupils to talk nonsense in class';

umezuia wazee wako wasiende? 'have you prevented your parents from going?'

2.6.3.6. Subordination with conjunction

The most common types of subordinates introduced by a conjunction are:

(a) *conditional* clauses with *kama* 'if', e.g.,

kama atakuja kesho tutampa habari 'if he comes tomorrow, we will give him news'.

kama is often replaced by a verb phrase consisting of the impersonal form *ikiwa* plus the relevant tense of the main verb, e.g., *ikiwa atakuja kesho tutampa habari*, in which case the two sentences are in coordinate juxtaposition, the {ki} tense of 'to be' marking the co-occurrence of the two processes involved.

(b) clauses indicating a *purpose*, with *ili* or *kusudi*, e.g.,

tulilima shamba letu vizuri ili lizae mavuno mengi 'we tilled our field well so that it may yield a rich crop';

waliondoka kusudi waende bara Hindi 'they left with the intention to go to India';

(c) *object* clauses, merely introduced by (*ya*) *kwamba*, (*ya*) *kuwa* or *kama*, e.g.,

asema kama umekuja kuamkia asubuhi na mapema 'he says that you have come to pay a visit early in the morning';

walikuambia ya kwamba dada yao ameolewa mwezi jana 'they told you that their sister had been married last month';

barua ya wazee wangu yasema kama shangazi wangu amekufa 'my parents' letter says that my aunt has died'.

(d) *temporal* clauses, in the subjunctive with *tangu* 'since', e.g.,

tangu nizaliwe nilikuwa na bahati mbaya tu 'since I was born, I've had only bad luck'.

(e) *temporal* clauses in the {ɟa} tense with *kabla* 'before', e.g.,

tulikula kabla hawajaja 'we ate before they came'.[141]

2.6.3.7. *Sequences of clauses*

The mere juxtaposition of clauses is a common syntactic pattern in Swahili. It occurs as a rule in clauses:

(a) with verbs in the {ka}, {ki}, {ɟapo}, {ŋga}, {ŋge}, {ŋgali} tenses, e.g.,

toka huku hatuwezi kuwapelekea hawala ikafika 'from here we cannot send them a check so that they get it' (literally, 'and it arrives');

tuliwasikia wakiimba 'we heard them singing';

angalitoka bara asingalisema kiKae 'if he had come from the mainland he would not have spoken kiKae'.

(b) in which one process is inferred from another, this connection being signalled in one of the clauses by a complex with *kwa* plus a noun like *sababu* 'reason', *maana* 'meaning', etc., e.g.,

hawakuenda mkutanoni kwa sababu hawakualikwa 'they did not go to the meeting because they were not invited';

sikualikwa kwa hi(v)yo sikuenda 'I was not invited, therefore, I did not go'.

Coordination by means of conjunctions occurs to express:

(a) alternatives, e.g.,

ama ni sisi ama ni wazee wetu 'it is either we or our parents';

hakutuambia wala hakutuandikia habari yo yote 'he has neither told nor written us any news whatsoever';

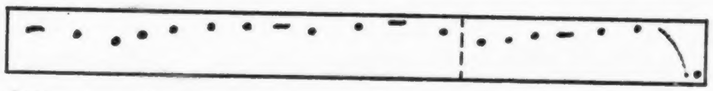
(b) contrast, e.g.,

nilimwuliza hali lakini hakujibu 'I asked him how he was, but he did not answer'.

2.6.4. *The Sentence*

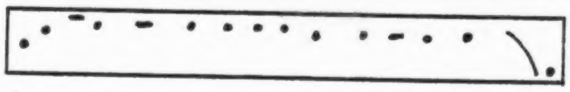
The sentence consists of a clause or a sequence of clauses characterized by the relevant terminals and co-occurrent contours (cf. 2.1.5.2.2). Thus, a relative clause occurring in non-final position in the sentence will show an ascending contour culminating in the high-sustained terminal /|/, marking the continuity of speech, e.g.,

Fundi aliyetengeneza dirisha amejikata mkono.



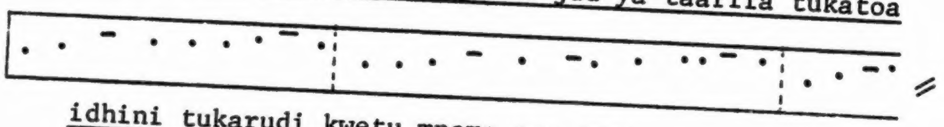
'The craftsman who repaired the window has cut his hand'; whereas, in final position, it is simply integrated into the descending pitch contour of the whole utterance, e.g.,

Simjui fundi aliyetengeneza dirisha.

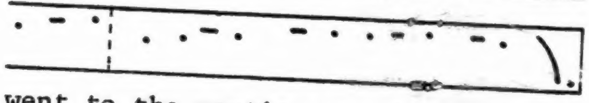


'I don't know the craftsman who repaired the window'.

In a string of juxtaposed clauses all but the last one show high-sustained terminals /|/ preceded by ascending pitch contours, while the last clause has a descending pitch contour with an utterance-final high-low terminal /↓/, e.g., *Tulikwenda mkutanoni tukazungumza juu ya taarifa tukatoa*



idhini tukarudi kwetu mnamo saa tano.



'We went to the meeting, we discussed the report, we approved (it), and we went back home round about 11:00 a.m.'

2.7. Vocabulary

The core of Swahili vocabulary is Bantu, but a tremendous amount of borrowing, mainly from Arabic, has considerably enlarged the lexicon. Therefore, numerous concepts can be expressed either with lexical items of Bantu origin or with loanwords from Arabic, and, accordingly, the same idea may often be uttered word for word in a completely different vocabulary, e.g., 'the doorkeeper has been wounded by the beggar' can be heard as *bawabu amejeruhiwa na maskini* or as *mngoja mlango ameumizwa na mwombaji*. However, whereas some of the Arabic vocabulary is widely used all over the Swahili-speaking area,[142] a greater part of it is restricted to literary usage and to the colloquial speech of the strongly Arabized island and coastal regions. Up-country, there is a definite tendency to use Bantu words which are usually cognate with the inland vernacular in which the Swahili speaker received his first education or with the Bantu language which he currently uses in his narrow tribal circle; in Tanganyika, this trend is even developing into a consciously negative attitude toward those non-Bantu elements of Swahili vocabulary for which a Bantu substitute is readily available. When two Bantu words coexist, the up-country Swahili speaker will usually prefer the one which is closer to the word in his native tongue, e.g., a Bena speaker will use *mbogo* rather than *nyati* for the African buffalo, because it is called *libogo* in his own language. Actually, a very considerable variation in word usage occurs throughout the Swahili-speaking area, and interesting studies of word-geography could be initiated in this field. A few examples may illustrate this point: the words for 'fork', 'spoon', 'butter' are *kanya*, *lupawa* and *manteka*, respectively, in Congo Swahili, whereas the corresponding standard Swahili words are *uma*, *kijiko* and *siagi*. The 'elephant' is called *ndovu* in Mombasa, but in Tanganyika as well as in the Congo *tembo* prevails. The common phrase 'come here!' will sound quite different according as one hears it in Zanzibar, Nairobi or Elisabethville, where local people use *njoo hapa*, *kuja* [$\underline{d}^{\check{z}}$] *hapa* and *kuja* [j] *huku*, respectively. In Mombasa, when a mother wants her child to sit down, she will use the imperative form *keti (kitako)*, but in Morogoro in the same situation, the phrase *kaa (chini)* is most likely to be heard.

From its linguistic origin, Swahili has preserved the wide flexibility of Bantu word-formation, so that from the verbal root {pend} 'love', it can derive a considerable number of verbs:

- *penda* 'like, love';
- *pendwa* [passive] 'be loved';
- *pendeka* [stative] 'be in the state of being loved', i.e., 'be lovable';
  - → *pendekeza* 'cause to be loved';
- *pendea* [applicative] 'love for, on account of...';
  - → *pendelea* 'have a special liking for';
  - *pendelewa* 'be favored';
  - *pendeleka* 'be in the state of being favored';
  - *pendeleza* 'cause to favor';
- *pendeza* [causative] 'please';
  - → *pendezwa* [passive] 'be pleased';
  - *pendezea* 'please with';
  - *pendezesha* 'cause to please, make popular';
- *pendezana* 'be mutually agreeable';
  - → *pendezanisha* 'cause to be mutually agreeable';
- *pendana* 'love each other';
  - → *pendanisha* 'cause to be friends, reconcile'.

By merely making use of the semantic connotations of the class-prefixes, Swahili can derive a considerable number of nouns from a definite stem. Thus, *chumba*, plural *vyumba* 'room' (classes 7 and 8) and *nyumba* 'house, household' (class 9 and 10) are directly formed on the verbal stem {umba}, from which an augmentative with the prefix of size {ɟi} is derived, i.e., *jumba* 'mansion', which serves in turn as the basis for the formation of the plural *majumba* and of the diminutives *kijumba*, plural *vijumba*. Moreover, {ki} is used as pre-prefix in *kinyumba* to indicate the condition of an unmarried woman, living with a man as his wife. Similarly, {u} appears as pre-prefix in *unyumba*, applying to the relation of husband and wife, and in *uchumba*, applying to the relation of lover and sweetheart, *mchumba* indicating either the 'suitor' or the 'fiancée'.

Furthermore, the nominal derivational suffixes multiply the possibilities of word-formation in combination with the class-prefixes. Thus, besides *muumba*, plural *waumba* 'creator' (especially as a name for God), containing the same verbal stem {umba} 'shape, create' in another semantic field, the verbal root {umb} appears with the same basic meaning in the following deverbatives:

mwumbaji 'fashioner' (-*aji* indicating the habitual doer of the action);

umbo, plural *maumbo* 'shape, form, appearance' (-*o* indicating the ultimate result of the action);

kiumbe, plural *viumbe* 'created thing, creature' (-*e* indicating the passive agent, the thing acted upon).

Typically Bantu in Swahili is also the extensive use of reduplication to add various connotations to a word, namely:

(1) to emphasize, or conversely, to lessen the idea it conveys, e.g., *bilauri zilivunjika vipande vipande* 'the glasses broke into pieces (and pieces)'; *sijambojambo* 'I am fairly well' (versus *sijambo* 'I am quite well');

(2) to express the continuity of a process or situation, e.g., *hatukukumbuka njia tukaenda tukaenda pori tangu asubuhi hata jioni* 'we did not remember the way and we went on and on through the wilderness from morning to evening';

(3) to mark a distributive idea, e.g., *njoni mmoja mmoja* 'come one by one'.

Traces of no longer operative derivational patterns are also to be found in Swahili vocabulary, e.g., the denominative verbal formation in {p} from adjectival stems, e.g.,

-*nene* 'stout, corpulent' → *nenepa* 'become fat' (of persons);
-*wongo* 'false, untrue' → *ongopa* 'tell a lie';
-*oga* 'timid, easily frightened' → *ogopa* 'be afraid of'; etc.

The most characteristic feature of Swahili vocabulary is, however--as already mentioned--the considerable impact of Arabic on the lexicon, which has markedly influenced the language in its phonemic system, introducing such phonemes as /ð/, /θ/ and /γ/ into the language. Directly ascribable to Arabic influence are also the allophone [x] of the phoneme /h/ and its tremendous increase in functional load, the development of the distinct phonemes /l/ and /r/ from freely varying allophones of the Swahili reflex of proto-Bantu */d/, with borrowing from Arabic leading to the introduction of such contrastive pairs as:

kalamu 'pencil' : *karamu* 'banquet';
laha 'sheet of paper': *raha* 'rest';
lehemu 'solder' : *rehemu* 'have mercy';
shali 'shawl' : *shari* 'evil'; etc.

Taking over Arabic clusters also considerably modified the Bantu pattern of phonotactics in Swahili, which did not admit of the sequence of two obstruents. In some cases, the loanword was reshaped in compliance with the Bantu pattern by means of anaptyctic vowels, e.g., in *kufa kibudu* 'to die a natural death' (: Arabic /kabd/ 'afflicting gravely'), with substitution of the class-prefix {ki} for the Arabic initial *ka*- to indicate the manner (cf. 2.4.2.3(e)), whereas the same cluster is maintained in the standard form as well as in the current pronunciation of *labda* 'perhaps'.[143] According to the principles of Bantu syllabification, which require a vowel at the word-end, the final consonants of Arabic are followed by an epenthetic vowel, whose coloring depends as a rule upon the area of articulation of the final consonant, i.e., *u* after labials : *i* after alveolars, palatals and velars, e.g., *adabu* 'good manners' (: Arabic /ʔadab/);[144] *dhaifu* 'weak' (: Arabic /ḍaʕiif/), *shahamu* 'fat, lard' (: Arabic /šaħm/), *wakati* 'time' (: Arabic /waqt/), *duni* 'inferior, low' (: Arabic /duun/), *bahari* 'sea' (: Arabic /baħr/), *kisi* 'estimate' (: Arabic /qis/ from /qaas(a)/ 'measure'), *fariji* 'comfort' (: Arabic /farriǰ/), *milki* 'possession, dominion' (: Arabic /milk/), etc. However, in some cases, vowel harmony overrules this distributional pattern, e.g., *nuru* 'light, brightness' from Arabic /nuur/, *sanduku* 'box' from Arabic /ṣanduuq/. Further phonological adaptation of the Arabic loans to the Swahili sound system is evidenced by the elimination of various phonemic contrasts of Arabic like /ð/ : /ð̣/ : /ḍ/, all three falling together into Swahili /ð/,[145] as shown by *kadhalika* 'likewise' (: Arabic /kaðaalika/), *waadhi* 'religious speech' (: Arabic /waʕð̣(a)/ 'admonition, sermon'), and *kadhi* 'Islamic judge' from Arabic /qaaḍii/. Furthermore, Arabic /ðð/ and /ḍḍ/ are reflected simply by /ð/ in Swahili, e.g., in *adhibu* 'punish' from Arabic /ʕaððib/, and *tafadhali* 'please' from Arabic /tafaḍḍal/. As a rule, all Arabic long consonants are shortened in Swahili, e.g., *homa* 'fever' (: Arabic /ħummaa/), *kafara* 'sacrifice (to avoid evil)', (: Arabic /kaffaara/ 'atonement'), *muda* 'period' (: Arabic /mudda/), *ratibu* 'arrange' (: Arabic /rattib/), *kisa* 'story, account' (: Arabic /qiṣṣa/), *sakifu* 'make a stone floor' (: Arabic /saqqif/ 'plaster a ceiling'), etc. However, in the older language, double spellings of the intervocalic Arabic long consonants are still to be found in such words as *hatta* 'until', in which a long consonant is still heard in emphatic speech along the coast and in Zanzibar.

Remarkably enough, the principles of Arabic word formation have apparently not influenced Swahili: whenever words belonging to the same Semitic root appear side by side with different vocalization, closer examination shows that they have been borrowed as separate lexical items, e.g., Arabic /safar/ 'journey' is reflected in Swahili by the well-known *safari*, with the predictable epenthetic *i* after /r/, but the corresponding verb is *safiri* 'travel', which serves as a basis for a whole string of typical Swahili derivatives:

(a) the applicative *safiria*, the stative *safirika*, the causative *safirisha* 'send off';

(b) the noun indicating the doer *msafiri* 'traveler', and the abstract noun of action *usafiri* 'traveling'.

A striking case is that of the adjective *sadifu* 'right, proper, exact', which is formed from the Arabic /ṣaadiq/ 'right, true' with the derivational suffix {u} and the morphophonemic change of /k/ + /u/ into /fu/.[146] Similarly, the integration of Arabic loans into Swahili morphology shows remarkable features of a thorough interpretation of the forms along strictly Bantu lines, e.g., *wakati* 'time' (from Arabic /waqt/ is reanalyzed as a {u} class noun with the /w/ allomorph of the prefix before initial vowel (*w-akati*), and accordingly forms its plural according to the pattern of the {n} class nouns, i.e., *nyakati*; *kiriba* 'water-skin' (from Arabic /qirba/) is reanalyzed as a {ki} class noun (*ki-riba*), and accordingly appears in the plural with the {vi} prefix as *viriba*; etc.

Usually, however, the Arabic loans are either included in the Bantu class which best fits their semantic content, or they remain unchanged and then require the concords of the {n} class, or for animate beings, of the personal classes,[147] unless their initial syllable appears to be homophonous with a class-prefix, in which case they may be considered as members of that class in the concord system. Thus, *mtofaa* 'rose-apple tree' (: Arabic /tuffaaħ/ 'apple') is included in class 3 as a tree-name, whereas *maki* 'thickness' (: Arabic /maʕq/ 'depth') has been inserted into class 6, whose prefix is homophonous with its first syllable, on the model of *marefu* 'length', *mapana* 'breadth' and the like. However, other Arabic loans which would apparently fit neatly into class 6 as mass nouns, e.g., *mali* 'property' (: Arabic /maal/), *madini* 'metal' (: Arabic /maʕdin/), are usually treated as class 9-10 nouns, e.g., *mali nyingi* 'great wealth', though *mali mengi* is also heard. The Arabic ethnic name /yuunaanii/ 'Greek' is reflected in Swahili by the nominal stem *yunani*, which can be used with the prefixes of classes 1 and 2 to indicate the ancient Greeks, with the prefix of class 7 to point to their language and customs, and with the prefix of class 14 to name their country. Arabic loans with *ku*- as initial syllable, e.g., *kudura* '(God's) power' (: Arabic /qudra/ 'omnipotence'), *kustubani* 'thimble' (: Arabic /kustubaan/); etc., hardly fit into class 15 or Class 17, but some of them, like *kuzi* '(earthenware) pitcher' (cf. Arabic /kuuz/ 'small jug, mug'), are considered class 5 nouns, with the zero allomorph of the prefix {ɟi}, and accordingly take the class 6 {ma} prefix in the plural. This is also the case with nouns like *bikira* 'virgin' (: Arabic /bikr/), *kaburi* 'grave, tomb' (: Arabic /qabr/). Merely {n} class nouns are, e.g., *defa* 'time, occasion', *dua* 'prayer', *fikira* 'thought', *ahali* 'wife, kinsfolk', *samaki* 'fish', etc.

The Arabic loanwords in Swahili belong to all areas of cultural and social life. Most numerous, of course, are the terms pertaining to Islamic religious life, which still pervades all activities in the coastal and island areas. Therefore, the time of the day is mainly marked by the Moslem times of prayer, e.g., 'dawn' is *alfajiri* (prayer about 4:00 a.m.), 'noon' is *adhuhuri* (prayer between 12:00 and 2:00 p.m.), 'afternoon' is *alasiri* (prayer between 3:30 p.m. and 4:30 p.m.), etc. Similarly, the days of the week are counted with reference to the Moslem holy day *Ijuma* 'Friday', as *Jumamosi* (with the old Bantu numeral *mosi* 'one') 'Saturday', *Jumapili* 'Sunday', *Jumatatu* 'Monday', *Jumanne* 'Tuesday', *Jumatano* 'Wednesday'. 'Thursday', however, is called *Alhamisi*, with an Arabic name meaning literally 'the fifth', as the Arabs have adhered to the old Oriental time-reckoning which considers the Sabbath as the last day and starts the week on Sunday.

Though European influence has generalized the use of the Western calendar, based on the solar year, the Swahili still refer to the Moslem year of 12 lunar months: their time of reference is the month of fasting or *Ramadhani*; the nine following months are counted as *Mfunguo*[148] *mosi*, *Mfunguo pili*, *Mfunguo tatu*, etc. The last two months before *Ramadhani* again have Arabic names, i.e., *Rajabu* and *Shaabani*.

Numeration has also been deeply influenced by Arabic: whereas the first five numerals and eight and ten are definitely of Bantu origin, *sita* 'six', *saba* 'seven', and *tisa* 'nine' are Arabic words; above ten up to nineteen, the Swahili usually count by adding the unit to ten and say *kumi na moja* 'ten with one' (11), *kumi na mbili* 'ten with two' (12), etc.; but the coexisting simple Arabic numerals are sometimes used as well, especially *edashara* '11', *thenashara* '12'. The tens are all Arabic, e.g., *ishirini* 'twenty', *thelathini* 'thirty', *arobaini* 'forty', etc. but in counting, the units are added to them in the same way as after *kumi*, e.g., *hamsini na nne* '54', *themanini na tisa* '89', etc.

Through Arabic, Turkish words have also penetrated into Swahili. They are mostly military terms, e.g., *baruti* 'gun-powder', *korokoni* 'watching post' *ombasha* 'lance-corporal', *singe* 'bayonet', etc.

Early commercial relations with Persia led to the adoption of a series of Persian loans, a great number of which deal with navigation, e.g., *demani* 'sheet(rope) of the main sail', *nanga* 'four-fluked anchor', *sanjari* 'line of ships sailing together', *serahangi* 'boatswain', etc. Moreover, numerous names of foods, plants, pieces of clothing, kinds of cloth, tools, etc., show the wide extent of Persian cultural impact on Swahili. Typical examples are *birinzi* 'rice dish' (: Persian *berenj*), *mdalasini* 'cinnamon' (: Persian *darcin*), *pamba* 'cotton' (: Persian *pambe*), *koshi* 'slipper (open at the back)' (: Persian *kafš* 'shoe'), *randa* 'carpenter's plane' (: Persian *rande*), *chana* 'comb' (: Persian *šane*), *saruji* 'cement' (: Persian *saruj* 'plaster, mortar'), *pua* 'steel' (: Persian *pulad* ~ *fulad*), *simu* 'telegraph' (: Persian *sim* 'wire'), *darubini* 'telescope' (: Persian *durbin* literally, 'far-seeing').[149]

Prolonged contact with Portugal, mainly in the 16th and 17th centuries, likewise resulted in the introduction of a considerable number of borrowings, many of them connected with shipping and with playing games. Most of the terminology of card-playing is Portuguese, e.g., *karata* 'playing card' (< Portuguese *carta*); *pao* 'clubs', *uru* 'diamonds' (< Portuguese *ouro(s)*), *shupaza* 'spades' (< Portuguese *espada(s)*), *kopa* 'hearts' (< Portuguese *copa(s)*), *ree* 'ace' (< Portuguese *rei*), *turufu* 'trump' (< Portuguese *trunfo*), *seti* 'sevens' (< Portuguese *sete*), etc. Other words deal with new implements and products introduced by the *waReno* ('Portuguese', from *Reino*), e.g., *bomba* 'pump' (also 'chimney'), *bweta* 'box', *kasha* 'case' (< Portuguese *caixa*), *meza* 'table', *bibo* 'cashew apple', *korosho* 'cashew nut' (cf. Portuguese *caroço* 'kernel'), *lakiri* 'sealing wax' (< Portuguese *lacra*).

Indian merchants established themselves at an early date along the East coast and gradually took control of most of the retail and wholesale trade, especially in the days of British rule. Their language contributed a considerable number of words to Swahili, especially names of food products and various implements, e.g., *papuri* 'thin cake flavored with asafoetida', *embe* 'mango', *ladu* 'candy balls made of flour, ginger, etc.' (cf. Hindi /lədu/ 'garabanzo flour and sugar'), *mkamshi* 'ladle for stirring and dealing out gravy' (cf. Hindi /cəmci/ 'small spoon'), *ramba* 'knife used by shoemakers', etc. Various terms dealing with banking and finance also show the impact of the Indian tradesmen on financial life in the Swahili area, e.g., *hundi* 'check, draft, money-order', *cheti* 'note, ticket', *bima* 'insurance', *laki* '100,000'. Objects with definite measurements also point to the commercial activity of the Indians, e.g., *jora* '30-yard piece of calico', *debe* 'tin can of approximately 4 gallons', *tola* '½ ounce (for weighing silver, gold, perfumes, etc.)'.

German occupation in Tanganyika, though it contributed greatly to the spread of Swahili all over the country, exerted little influence on the language itself; apart from a few words like *shule* 'school' (< German *Schule*) or *barawani* 'bath' (< German *Badewanne*), only strictly localized loans, like *hela* (< German *Heller*), the name of a small coin in Northern Tanganyika, are to be found.

In recent years, English influence on the language has been considerable, especially with the development of education and means of mass communication like the press or the radio: hundreds of loanwords pervade the language, mainly technical terms dealing with government, cultural life, technological progress, scientific achievement, etc. In the newspapers, many articles are translated from English material supplied by international press agencies, and the tendency to stick close to the original text leads to characteristic transfers of English sentence patterns into Swahili which, in the long run, are likely to affect the syntax of the language as a whole. Until recently, English loans were adapted closely to the phonemic system of Swahili, with alien consonant clusters broken by an anaptyctic vowel, e.g., *burashi* 'brush', *bulangeti* 'blanket', *turubali* 'tarpaulin'. As shown by the preceding examples, final consonants are normally followed by an epenthetic vowel. There also seems to be a definite trend to voice voiceless stops in voiced environments. The coloration of the inserted or appended vowel depends, as in the other loans, on the environment, viz.:

/u/ after labials, e.g., *paipu* '(motor)horn',
/i/ after alveolars, palatals and velars, e.g., *reli* 'railway', *kabati* 'cupboard', *inchi* 'inch', *wiki* 'week';
/a/ when syllabic /r/ or /l/ was lost, e.g., *namba* 'number', *fulana* 'flannel' (→ 'vest').

Nowadays, however, the impact of education and acculturation is such that many English clusters which do not occur in Bantu are maintained, e.g., clusters of obstruents plus /r/ or /l/ in *februari*, *aprili*, *eropleni* 'aeroplane', *mkristo* 'Christian', etc.--as compared to *buluu* 'blue', *burashi* 'brush', etc. Doublets like *bulangeti* : *blanketi* thus developed, and even triconsonantal initial clusters, like *skr*- in *skrubu* 'screw', now occur in colloquial speech. Textbooks as well as daily usage also familiarize Swahili speakers with such clusters as *ktr* in *elektrisiti*, in which the junctural division of English is carried over into Swahili, establishing a syllable boundary between k and tr, with a final obstruent in the former syllable. The Bantu pattern of syllabification of Swahili, already loosened by the Arabic loans, thus gets further disrupted and it is predictable that, in the long run, widespread English borrowing will deeply modify the phonotactic pattern of Swahili. At the present day, only some up-country dialects still insert an anaptyctic i between initial /s/ and a following obstruent, whereas standard Swahili readily admits /st/, e.g., in stesheni 'railway station', stimu 'power (of electricity)' (< English steam), etc. On the morphological level, however, the pressure of the system continues to reshape loanwords for proper insertion in the class-system, leading to such alternations as kilabu (plural vilabu) or digadi (plural madigadi), by reanalyzing the Swahili reflexes of English 'club' or 'mudguard' in terms of prefix contrasts between singular and plural.

Other languages have only sporadically influenced Swahili, e.g., Mauritian French, when the growing of cloves was introduced from Mauritius into Zanzibar at the end of the 18th century. It has given Swahili the word for 'plantation', i.e., shamba (< French champ); and Arabic /qaranful/ 'clove', which was borrowed in Swahili under the form karafuu, may come from the same source, as it is apparently connected with French girofle.

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A. PHONOLOGY

The only comprehensive study of Swahili phonology available outside the introductory survey in the Grammaire des dialectes swahilis of C. Sacleux is the article, 'Swahili Phonetics', by A.N. Tucker and E.O. Ashton, first published in African Studies, Vol. 1 (1942), pp. 77-103, 161-82, but also available as a separate reprint (Johannesburg, 1942). It is completed by the article, 'Foreign Sounds in Swahili', by A.H. Tucker, in the Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, Vol. XI (1946), pp. 854-71; Vol. XII (1947), pp. 214-32.

A phonemic analysis of Swahili is included in Methods in Structural Linguistics, by Zellig S. Harris (Chicago, 1951), pp. 97-124. Some features of the idiolect of his informant--a native Comorian--do not correspond, however, to those of colloquial Zanzibar speech.

Useful hints are given by E.W. Stevick in the 'Introduction' to the Swahili Basic Course of the Foreign Service Institute (Washington, 1963).

Swahili sentence intonation is discussed in some detail in E.O. Ashton's Swahili Grammar (London, 1944), but a thorough investigation of this problem is still needed.

B. MORPHOLOGY

Apart from the systematic surveys of morphology in the standard grammars and textbooks mentioned in the Select Bibliography following the Preface, relatively little research work has been done on Swahili morphology. In the early days, some basic articles were published by German Bantuists like G. Meinhof, J. Raum, A. Seidel, M. Heepe and others, but a new approach to Swahili was only introduced by E.O. Ashton in her articles:

> 'The "Idea" approach to Swahili', in Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, Vol. VII, No. 4 (1935), pp. 837-59; and 'The structure of a Bantu language, with special reference to Swahili, or form and function through Bantu eyes', in the same journal, Vol. VIII, No. 4 (1937), pp. 1111-20.

Three fascicles of preliminary notes for a Swahili grammar from a strictly Bantu point of view were prepared by O.B. Kopoka and published under the title Sarufi na Ufasaha [Grammar and Purity of Style] by the East Africa Swahili Committee (Kampala, 1957-59).

In recent years, several articles dealing with specific problems of Swahili morphology have appeared, among others:

Kopoka (O.B.), 'The possessive in Standard Swahili', in the Journal of the East African Swahili Committee, Vol. 24 (1954), pp. 21-32.

Lambert (H.E.), 'The possessive in dialect', in the same journal, Vol. 24 (1954), pp. 33-59.

Kopoka (O.B.), 'The -e form of the verb in Standard Swahili', in the same journal, Vol. 25 (1955), pp. 44-60.

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C. SYNTAX

Apart from the pioneering work done by W. Planert and H. Jensen in the first decades of this century, the only systematic research carried on in the field of Swahili syntax up to the present day is reflected by the challenging articles of W.H. Whiteley:

'Some problems of the syntax of sentences in a Bantu language of East-Africa', in Lingua, Vol. IX, No. 2 (1960), pp. 148-74; and 'Further problems in the study of Swahili sentences', in the same journal, Vol. X, No. 2 (1961), pp. 148-73.

A most valuable collection of material is contained in the second part of A. Loogman's Swahili Grammar and Syntax (Pittsburgh, 1965).

Worth mentioning also is the contribution of J.P. Jakovleva in her Očerki sintaksisa jazyka suaxili, in Trudy Instituta Etnografii... (Akademija Nauk, SSSR, Vol. LII (1959), pp. 48-100).

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D. VOCABULARY

Apart from the considerable amount of lexicographical material compiled in the standard dictionaries of Krapf, Sacleux and Johnson, listed in the Select Bibliography following the Preface, the study of Swahili vocabulary has practically been confined to the establishment of limited lists of dialectal differences and to the study of loanwords and their integration into the phonological and morphological system of Swahili. No serious attempt has yet been made at mapping out the word-geography of Swahili, though some valuable evidence has already been gathered in such articles as 'The dialects of the Zanzibar Sultanate' by W.H. Ingrams in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol. III (1924), pp. 533-50. For a survey of the problem, cf. E. Polomé, 'Geographical differences in lexical usage in Swahili' in *Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Dialectologists* (Marburg, 1965), to be published shortly.

A valuable introduction to the problem of loanwords is the monograph by B. Krumm, *Wörter und Wortformen orientalischen Ursprungs im Suaheli* (Hamburg, Friedrichsen, De Gruyter and Co., 1932), an English translation of which was published in London in 1940 under the title *Words of Oriental Origin in Swahili*. Two important articles complete this book:

Tucker (A.N.) 'Foreign sounds in Swahili', in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol. XI (1946), pp. 854-71; Vol. XII (1947), pp. 214-32;

Ružička (Karel F.), 'Lehnwörter im Swahili. 1. Arabische und englische Lehnwörter', in *Archiv Orientální*, Vol. XXI (1955), pp. 582-603.

On Portuguese loans, cf. P. Prata 'Influência de Português sobre o Suahíli', in *Boletim do Museu de Nampula*, Vol. 2 (1961), pp. 133-75.

NOTES

1. For several years the *Journal of the East African Swahili Committee* has regularly published lists of suggested technical terms in various fields.

2. This nasal is homorganic with /b/, /d/ and /g/, but /ɟ/ only occurs after /n/. Moreover, its [d̲ž] allophone also appears as a rule after the stressed syllabic allophone of /n/, e.g., in *nje* ['ṇd̲že] 'outside'. Similarly, only the non-implosive allophones of /b/, /d/, /g/ are heard after heterosyllabic [ṃ], [ṇ] and [ŋ], reflecting allomorphs of the {n} class-prefix (cf. 2.2.2.2(b)).

3. Except for isolated cases with /ð/ after /n/, e.g., *mandhuri* 'appearance'.

4. Cf., however, *kwa heri* [kwɑ'hɛ̲:rɪ] 'good-bye'. Note also the Arabizing pronunciation ['ruxsa̲], with the spelling *ruksa*, versus current Swahili *ruhusa* [rʊ'hu:sa̲] 'leave, permission'.

5. The occurrence of this [$^{\text{I}}$] onset with /m/ is, however, limited to nouns belonging to the {n} class; in such cases, the stem-initial /b/ is never implosive.

6. This distributional pattern is due to the loss of /l/, which occurred initially and intervocalically before back vowels in pre-literary Swahili. This also accounts for alternate forms like *mlamu* ~ *mwamu* 'brother-in-law', *lowama* ~ *owama* 'be wet'; cf. also, with *r*-spelling, *ng'aa* ~ *ng'ara* 'be bright'.

7. This does not imply that *all* stressed syllables are long. However, though there may be considerable individual variation in the relative length of the stressed vowels, the general pattern is that their length is definitely less marked before a nasal cluster (this difference is indicated here by the use of [·] instead of [:] in such cases).

8. This accounts for the slightly different results of V.I.O. Petrjankina in her study of Swahili vowel phonemes ('O glasnyx fonemax v jazyke suaxili', in *Narody Azii i Afriki*, No. 3 [1964], pp. 119-22).

9. When the aspirate is a mere positional variant of a voiceless stop, it occurs both initially and before stressed vowel (cf. 2.1.1.1).

10. There are, indeed, only isolated examples of clusters like /lm/ in *mfalme* 'king'.

NOTES

11. This can also be the case medially in postvocalic position, e.g., in amka 'wake up', chemsha '(cause to) boil'. However, in such words, some speakers may use a non-syllabic [m] while maintaining the syllable boundary between the nasal and the obstruent. Such a pronunciation is probably due to Arabic influence; the syllable boundary lies between /m/ and the following consonant in Arabic loans, e.g., in amri 'order'.

12. Actually, the occurrence of a geminate /nn/ is restricted to nne '4', in which it is always disyllabic, the first /n/ being usually syllabic.

13. Cf. also, isolated cases like kodwe 'small stone'.

14. It should be noted that the position of the word-stress is not affected by this vocalic release; however, when it develops into a phonemic vowel segment, it counts as a syllable and may entail a shift of stress, e.g., in fikira 'thought' [fɪ'ki:ra̲] versus the Arabizing pronunciation ['fi·kra̲].

15. Cf. also, final /r/ in the exclamation tahadhar 'be careful!' in the more strongly Arabized speech of Zanzibar, Tanga and Mombasa.

16. In such a case, a contrastive pattern is established, which is reinforced by the ascending pitch-contour in the second part of the long utterance.

17. Note the low pitch on the title of address bwana 'Sir', as in the cases described under (1).

18. Mora is defined here as the average length of a short syllabic.

19. Walimu is also accepted.

20. Many Arabic loans belonging to the {ma} class actually show a Swahili reinterpretation of their first syllable ma- as a class-prefix, e.g., maarifa 'knowledge', from Arabic /maʕrifa/; cf. also, Arabic /maʕṣiya/ : Swahili maasi 'rebellion'.

21. /b/ + /i/ → /vi/ is practically restricted to this case.

22. /zi/ from /l/ + /i/, the original /l/, lost here between vowels, appearing, e.g., in the 'passive' okolewa 'be saved'.

23. Phonemically, a /-/ juncture occurs between {ku} and the following morpheme (cf. 2.1.5.4).

24. In colloquial Zanzibar Swahili, however, kusoma kote.

25. It has been assumed that {ki} appears as a rule as [kɪ] before a derivation from a verbal root or theme with initial vowel, e.g., kiokosi 'reward for picking up something', from {okot} 'pick up',

but this accounts only for part of the evidence with a discrepant [kɪ] followed by a syllable boundary before a stem-initial vowel, since it does not apply to terms like *kiazi* 'yam', *kioo* 'mirror', *kiuno* 'loin', etc. In view of minimal pairs like *choo* 'restroom' : *kioo* 'mirror', *chatu* 'python' : *kiatu* 'shoe', *chelezo* 'buoy' (cf. the verbal stem *elea* 'float') : *kielezo* 'explanation' (cf. the verbal stem *elea* 'be clear'), it seems preferable to interpret the forms with *ki*- as reflexes of {ki} before a /-/ juncture. This interpretation is confirmed by alternate forms like *kioja* ~ *kiroja* 'something astonishing or terrifying' versus the verb *kuroja* 'to marvel'.

26. Phonemically, the allomorph of the prefix {mi} before nouns should accordingly be posited as /mi-/, with a /-/ juncture.

27. Phonetically less marked syllabicity of the bilabial (or labiodental) allomorph of {n} may occur with disyllabic nominal morphemes, e.g., in *mvua* [ɱ̩'vu:a] 'rain'.

28. At this stage it would be possible to eliminate /ph/, /th/, /kh/, and /ch/ as phonemes since they appear to be exclusively ascribable to morphophonemic changes entailed by the prefixation of {n} as class-marker; /ph/, /th/, /kh/ and /ch/ should then be rephonemicized as /np/, /nt/, /nk/ and /nc/ in /#—V/, i.e., initial prevocalic position.

29. Historically speaking it is, however, possible to assume that the Swahili situation continues the allophonic distribution of the reflexes of the Bantu phonemes */d/ and */b/, i.e., [l] and [w] in intervocalic position and [d] and [b] in clusters with a nasal as first component, so that the /b/ of -*bovu* would be due to the reinterpretation of *mbovu*, from Bantu */n(i)bodu/ (cf. 2.2.2.4 [N.B.]) as {n} + {bovu}; cf. *ubongo* 'brain', after the plural *mbongo*, beside Jomvu *ongo* and rural Ngazija *uwongwe*.

30. I.e., the causative suffix {j} (cf. 2.3.2.3(4)) plus the final {a} of verbal stems.

31. Parallel to the nouns, monosyllabic stems with initial consonant have *ji*- as adjectival concord, e.g., *jipya* 'new'. In other Bantu languages giving evidence for the suffix *{gi} versus *{de}, the merger of the two classes has not evolved as far as in Swahili, e.g., in Venda where *{de} is reflected (1) by /ḽi/ (with ḽ for dental [ḽ]) before monosyllabic stems of the type /CV/, e.g., *ḽiṋo* 'tooth'; (2) by definite voiced consonants before stems of the type /V(N)CV/, e.g., *dzanda* (from -*anda*) 'bundle of withes'; and (3) by the voicing of initial voiceless stops before stems of the type /CVCV/, e.g., *dope* 'mud': (plur.) *matope*; /ḽi/ can be used as augmentative before stems of the type /CVCV/ with initial voiced consonant, e.g., *ḽiṋoni* 'large bird', whereas /ḓi/ (with ḓ for dental [ḓ] appears as the reflex of *{gi} elsewhere, e.g., *ḓithu* 'monstrosity': *tshithu*

'thing', but the augmentatives in *di*- govern the concords of class 5, i.e., *li* < Bantu *{de}.

32. Reflecting the /mw/ allomorph of the third person singular object-prefix {m} (cf. 2.2.1.2.1).

33. Note that the morphophonemic change of /li/ to /zi/ (cf. 2.2.2.3(c)) does not occur before Swahili *i* due to vowel harmony.

34. Cf. also, the dialectal -*v*- of Gunya -*yiva*, Siu -*yuva*, corresponding to Swahili */w/.

35. Cf., however, the use of the class-prefix {ki} to denote the action more specifically in its actual occurrence in *kikohozi* 'fit of coughing' versus *ukohozi* 'affection causing coughing', both derived from *kohoa* 'cough'.

36. With /zi/ from /l/ (alternating with /-/ in *lea*) + /i/, according to 2.2.2.2(c).

37. It only survives in lexicalized forms like *kanyaga* 'tread', *mwaga* 'pour out', *taga* 'lay (eggs)'.

38. *Umika* is now exclusively used for medical cupping.

39. With initial /b/ as in -*bovu* (cf. 2.2.2.2(d)) versus (dialectal) initial /w/ in Amu -*wivu*.

40. An extensive listing of derivatives in {o} is given by J. Knappert in his article: 'Derivation of nouns of action in -*o* in Swahili', in *Swahili*, Vol. 33, No. 1 (1962/3), pp. 74-106.

41. Therefore, only a few show parallel forms with the class-prefix {ɟi}, e.g., *nena* 'speak' → *neno* 'word' (with the zero allomorph of the prefix {ɟi}): *maneno* 'speech, argument'.

42. Such types of {o} derivations from verbs in -*ana* are very common, e.g., *makutano* 'meeting'; *matukano* 'abuse'; *majibizano* 'mutual answering'; etc.

43. For a more detailed survey of nominal compounds in Swahili, cf. J. Knappert, 'Compound nouns in Bantu languages', in *Journal of African Languages*, Vol. 4, No. 3 (1965), pp. 211-18.

44. In this context, as elsewhere, /C/ symbolizes any consonant phoneme, /V/ a vowel, and /N/ a nasal phoneme. The postnasal consonant in {CVNC} is, however, always a voiced stop.

45. With an allomorph /v/ in *vika* 'provide with clothes', *vua* 'undress'.

46. Historically, all these verbs have lost an initial consonant, which accounts for their allomorphs with initial /-/ juncture, e.g., after the infinitive class-prefix {ku} in _kuoa_, _kuua_, _kuuma_, _kuona_, _kuiba_, _kuimba_, _kuunga_, from proto-Bantu */kodɔda/ 'look' (cf. Nyamwezi _lola_ 'see'), */koboda/, */kodoma/ 'bite, stab' (cf. Zulu _luma_ 'bite'), */kobɔna/ (cf. Zulu _bona_ 'see'), */kogiba/, */kogemba/, */kobonga/ 'gather' (cf. Zulu _bunga_ 'gather, collect'). In _kwenda_, {end} is treated as if it had an original inherited initial vowel; traces of the original /g/ are, however, preserved elsewhere in Swahili, e.g., in _mkurugenzi_ 'leader, pioneer' (cf. 2.3.1.2).

47. There are, however, some exceptions to the morphophonemically conditioned distribution of /i/ and /e/:

(a) /i/ always appears after /mk/ and /mš/, e.g., _chemka_ 'boil': _chemkia_; _chemsha_ '(cause to) boil': _chemshia_, where the high vowel of the suffix is presumably due to the syllabicity of the /m/ (cf. Note 11). It should also be noted that, dialectally, these forms appear with a high back vowel at the syllabic peak after /m/, e.g., Katanga Swahili _chemuka_, _chemusha_;

(b) with the roots of the type {C}, the occurrence of /e/ or /i/ is apparently unpredictable, as is evident from the following table:

/e/	/i/
pea (: _pa_ 'give');	_fia_ (: _fa_ 'die');
chea (: _cha_ 'dawn' or 'fear');	_jia_ (: _ja_ 'come');
nyea (: _nya_ 'emit (fluid)');	_lia_ (: _la_ 'eat');

_wa_ 'be' has two applicatives, _wea_ and _wia_, of which the first is obsolescent and restricted to cases with particular semantic connotations (e.g., 'be good for', 'turn out well, or ill for', etc.). Historically, the appearance of /i/ can be readily motivated in the case of _fa_ 'die' which reflects proto-Bantu */kua/, but the prototype of _la_--proto-Bantu */dea/-- shows postconsonantal */e/ just as do the prototypes of _cha_ and _nya_--proto-Bantu */kea/ and */nea/. As for _ja_, _pa_ and _wa_, they presumably reflect roots of the type {C}.

48. The -_l_- represents the Swahili reflex of proto-Bantu */d/ in intervocalic position, e.g., in _twaa_ from proto-Bantu */toada/ 'take up a burden on one's head' (cf. Kongo _twala_ 'carry, fetch'), whose theme probably consists of */to(ε)/ 'head' and the 'middle'suffix {ad}.

As appears from the above examples, the loss of this -_l_- in intervocalic position was restricted by the following rule in Swahili: when the last two syllables before the word-juncture have initial /l/, only the second /l/ is replaced by a mere syllable boundary, i.e., /...C(C)VlVlV+/→/...C(C)VlV-V+/.

49. As a matter of fact, *ingia* 'enter' is already a proto-Bantu applicative */jengɛda/ from the verbal root *{jeng}, so that *ingilia* actually represents {ing} + {El} + {El}.

50. With the same distribution of /e/ and /i/ as in the applicative; cf. Note 47.

51. *Pokea* is actually the applicative of the root {pok} 'receive', but *kupoka* has become obsolete; *tia* might originally have been an applicative of a lost verbal root {t}.

52. The associative *tembeleana* 'call on each other' apparently points to the extension of the root {temb} by a reduplicated form {ElEl} of the applicative suffix, but since this root currently appears only with the suffix {El}, *tembea* 'walk about' is not considered as an applicative by native speakers, and *tembelea* is simply an applicative derivation from {tembe(l)} parallel to *ingilia* from *ingia* (cf. Note 49). Since *tembelea* means 'go for a visit, call on', *tembeleana* is merely a secondary derivation from this applicative.

53. 'The status of radical extensions in Bantu languages', in *Journal of African Languages*, Vol. 1 (1962), pp. 209-210, 215. Guthrie, however, posits a basic form /ik/ for both suffixes.

54. Such a use of the suffix already occurs in proto-Bantu, as shown by */ganɛka/ 'dry in the sun', evidenced in Swahili by *anika* 'spread out clothes to dry' (: *anua* 'take out of the sun and the rain').

55. Similarly, the causative suffix {j} and the applicative suffix {E(l)} are used to express the thoroughness of the action or its persistence, e.g.,
nyama[a 'be quiet' → *nyamaza* 'be quite quiet';
tele[a 'descend' → *teleza* 'slide';
va[a 'put on clothes' → *vali[a* 'dress up'.
The applicative suffix, however, usually shows its reduplicated form in such cases, e.g., *pigilia* 'ram mud floors', *potelea* 'be completely lost'. It should be noted that this form has already a perfective connotation in proto-Bantu.

56. The static suffix {am} shows an allomorph {m} in a few lexicalized forms where the vowel of the root is repeated after the root-final consonant, e.g., *egema*, *chegema* 'lean on', in free variations with *egama*, *chagama*; **dudum[a*, implied by the applicative *dudumia* 'perforate', the stative *dudumika*, the causative *dudumiza*, etc.

57. An apparent exception to this rule is the causative chelewesha of chelewa 'be late'. Formally, chelew[a is the passive of chele[a 'be belated' which, in turn, is derived from the root {c} 'dawn' with the reduplicated applicative suffix {ElEl}. However, while the meaning of chelea 'be overtaken by sunrise' sticks closely to that of the root, chelewa has developed the general meaning of being too late or remaining an unusual time, so that the theme {celew} no longer operates as a passive. This shift in usage has presumably made an otherwise non-admissable secondary causative derivation from {celew} possible.

58. In her doctoral dissertation, 'Verbal derivations in Swahili' (University of Texas, Austin, 1966), Mrs. Rae Moore has tried to establish a derivational syntax by analyzing a comprehensive corpus of verbal themes. When these contain two or more derivational suffixes, they occur as a rule in the following order:

Post-root + Associative + Causative + Reversive + Stative +
Applicative + Causative + Associative + Passive
{O(1)}
{(a)m} + {an} + {j} + {O(1)} + {Ek} +
{(a)t} {E(1)} + {j} + {an} + {w}

Though some slots appear twice in this syntax of derivations, further perusual of the material shows that, usually, (a) the {O(1)} suffix is either added directly to the root or follows the static {(a)m} or the first associative slot; there are only a very few reversives derived from causatives, e.g., tanzua 'uncover, open (a curtain, screen, etc.)' from {tand} 'spread out over' + {j} + {O(1)}; vurujua 'soften by pounding' from the theme {vurug} 'stir up, mix' (containing the no longer productive habitual suffix {(a)g} + {j} + {O(1)}, with the early Swahili development of /g/ + /j/ to /ɟ/ (cf. parallel */gi/ → /ɟi/, 2.2.2.4[N.B.]); (b) derivations with {j} in the first causative slot belong to the older layer of the language showing the morphophonemic changes described under 2.2.2.3, whereas the second slot refers mainly to rederivations from other themes as well as to the analogical extension of the complex suffixes {Eš} and {Ez}.

Also to be noted is the apparent permutation of (a) the stative and the applicative, e.g., in pendeleka from {pend} 'love', in which a stative is rederived from the applicative theme {pendel} (cf. the parallel rederivation of the stative from the theme in {Ez} from {El} + {j} described under 2.3.2.4(f); (b) the applicative and the causative, e.g., in onyeshea from {on} 'see', in which a new applicative is derived from the causative of the stative onyesh[a 'point out'.

59. Besides the generic names for the other two main orders of animate beings in the Bantu classification, i.e., mdudu (plural wadudu) 'insect', mnyama (plural wanyama) 'animal'.

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60. Both of Bantu origin (cf. Shambala lumbu 'brother, sister', mlala ngazi 'mother's sister').

61. Though the formal identity of the Arabic formative {ma} undoubtedly contributed to their inclusion in the {ma} class, the fact that they fitted its semantic function was the decisive factor in this matter. Other Arabic loans with initial {ma} have been interpreted as forms with the zero allomorph of the {n} prefix of classes 9 and 10, e.g., names of tools, products and preparations like maharazi 'shoemaker's awl', marijani 'coral', mansuli 'woolen material', majuni 'intoxicating sweetmeat containing Indian hemp'; indications of time and direction like magharibi 'sunset, west', mashariki 'east'; etc. Also included in the {n} class are names for persons like maskini 'beggar', majununi 'buffoon, madman', but when a pair is involved, as in maarusi 'bride and bridegroom', the relevant noun belongs to the {ma} class. This rule also applies to objects with two constituents like makasi 'scissors' (also mkasi, plural mikasi).

62. The alternation t ~ ch points to a standardization of two different dialect forms, t reflecting the kiMvit̠a allophonic realization of /c/.

63. Meinhof's reconstruction of the prefixes of classes 9 and 10 as *{ne} and *{di} + {ne}, followed here, can, however, be challenged: the main reason for positing {ne} instead of {n} is the palatalization occurring before the roots with initial vowel like /ama/, e.g., in Swahili nyama 'meat'; if proto-Bantu had a palatal nasal phoneme (as suggested on page 13), [ɲ] in nyama could be part of this phoneme and reflect the same morphophonemic change of {n} before vowel as occurs in Swahili (cf. 2.2.2.2(c)). Besides, since the class-prefix {n} is undifferentiated as regards number, *{di} might well be an analogical transfer of the relevant pronominal prefix functioning as a pluralizer in the nominal concord system in some Bantu languages, e.g., Zulu inyoni 'bird': (plural) izinyoni.

64. Uta originally belonged to class 14 (proto-Bantu *{bo}), as shown, e.g., by ciLuba buta 'bow', but on account of its meaning, it has been treated as a noun of class 11 (proto-Bantu *{do}).

65. Cf. 2.3.1(c). Other deverbative stems are, e.g., -ume 'male' from a verbal root {lum} 'cohabit (of the man)', originally 'stab' (cf. Swahili uma 'stab, wound'), hence the allomorph /dume/ in bata dume 'drake'; -vivu 'idle', from a verbal root {vil} 'be idle', from which Swahili via 'fail to fully develop', and its applicative vilia and causative viza 'stunt, stop the growth of' are derived.

66. There are a few exceptions to this rule, which accounts for such forms as bata jike 'duck', with the prefixation of {ma} to this

singular form of class 5 in the plural when the adjective is used predicatively, e.g., *mabata haya ni majike*, literally, 'these ducks are female', but with *jike*, as in the singular, when the adjective is used attributively, e.g., *mabata jike* 'ducks'.

67. However, *nasi* 'and/with us', *nanyi* 'and/with you' appear occasionally for *na sisi*, *na ninyi*, e.g., *alikaa pamoja nasi* 'he stayed with us'.

68. -*(i)ni* also occurs with invariables like *karibu* 'come in' and with the complex *kwa heri* 'good-bye' when applying to more than one person.

69. /u/ is however preserved before [l] in some dialects.

70. Also occasionally in the third person plural, in *wenzao* 'their companions'.

71. An alternative form with *baba* and *mama* is the suffixal use of the allomorph {je} of the pronominal concord, e.g., *babaye* 'his/her father'.

72. In *mauae* 'its flowers', *e* is, however, directly added to the nominal stem.

73. Now occurring in a verb phrase to denote a time specification, corresponding to the adverbial phrase 'at last' in English.

74. Actually a *prefix*, since this affix--though it always immediately precedes the root--is never inserted into the verbal root. However, the inaccurate term "infix" is now so commonly accepted by Bantuists that it is difficult to substitute another name for this special prefix.

75. In the third person singular the prefix {a} is used, however, instead of the pronominal prefix *yu*- (cf. 2.4.1).

76. A similar distributional pattern determines the apparently unmotivated occurrence of the allomorph /kw/ of the prefix {ku} before the verbal stems *enda* 'go' and *isha* 'end'.

77. Swahili also resorts to another means to avoid the ambiguity resulting from the identity of the infixes of the second and third person plural, namely, the use of the second person singular infix {ku} together with the postfinal {ini}, e.g., *watakupigeni* 'they will hit each one of you', but in this case the form has a distributive meaning. In verbs of Arabic origin without final suffix the postfinal {ini} appears as /ni/, e.g., *rudini* 'come (ye) back'; *jibuni* 'answer (ye)'; this allomorph /ni/ is also found in the imperative form *njoni* 'go' (cf. Note 90), as well as after the final {e} in the adhortative. Accordingly, the allomorphs of the postfinal {ini} show the following

distributional pattern: /ini/ after /a/, /ni/ after any other vowel.

78. However, alternate forms with a postinitial coexist in the {ŋge} and {ŋgali} tenses.

79. /kw/ occurs analogically under the same conditions with enda and isha, e.g., asiende 'may he not go': asingekwenda 'he would not go' (cf. Note 76).

80. This rule also applies analogically to enda and isha (cf. Notes 76, 79).

81. Such forms as vifagie 'sweep them' (i.e., vyumba 'the rooms') or niambie 'tell me', clearly show that the so-called infix is actually an object-prefix (cf. Note 74).

82. It should be noted that the morpheme {ku} does not occur in the subjunctive form of monosyllabic verbal stems, as the initial subject-prefix can carry the word-stress.

83. {ka} appears to require the implied idea of "going" in the adhortative.

84. When the condition is considered as non-realized, i.e., in a restrictive supposition corresponding to an English sentence introduced by unless, Swahili uses a special verbal form in which the morphemic complex -sipo- appears after the initial pronominal prefix, e.g., usipoacha kufanya upuzi utafutwa 'unless you stop doing foolish things, you will be fired'; asipoangalia atapata hasara 'if he does not watch out, he will suffer a loss'; etc. The -sipo-tense is currently described as a conditional negative, but formally, -sipo- consists of the postinitial negative {si} and the locative relative {po}, which is itself composed of the class-prefix {pa} plus the referential {o}. In the relevant forms, {po} actually appears in the relative slot of the pattern of a negative relative (cf. page 124). The -sipo-tense is accordingly nothing but the negative relative corresponding to the affirmative form in which the locative relative {po} is used in the relative slot after the tense-markers {na}, {li} and {taka} to assign their location in time to processes occurring in the present, the past or future, e.g., mnapopiga 'when you are hitting', nilipofika 'when I arrived', tutakapokufa 'when we will die'. As a consequence, the negative relative with -sipo- merely means 'when...not', and there is no ground to classify it separately on account of a specific function in the semantic system of the Swahili verb.

Different is the case of {ɟapo}, which functions effectively as a mere tense-marker and occurs in affirmative forms, whereas its first component, the marker {ɟa}, occurs only in negative forms.

85. The {ŋga} tense is no longer used in colloquial Swahili except in the impersonal form ingawa appearing in phrases consisting of two verbs (cf. 2.6.2.2.2(b)); it is, however, quite common in aphorisms.

86. As {ki} has no negative counterpart, the negative relative with -sipo- (cf. Note 84) serves as a substitute for it, e.g., akija mpe fedha 'if he comes, give him the money': asipokuja hatapata fedha 'if he does not come, he will not get the money'.

87. This is shown formally as well as by the complex morpheme {ŋgali}, which can be analyzed into {ŋga} plus the past tense marker {li}. Similarly, {ŋge} might reflect {ŋga}, plus a morpheme {i} whose function would be to add the 'non-actual' connotation to {ŋga} (cf. the final {i} of the negative present). However, in colloquial speech the difference between nge and ngali is rather blurred, and a blended form ngeli even occurs in Zanzibar, e.g., ningelikuwa na pesa ningekwenda Ulaya 'if I had money, I would go to Europe'.

88. The absence of the initial is usually accounted for by assuming that the morpheme {hu} actually reflects a morphophonemic development from the combination of the copula {ni} 'is' plus the infinitive prefix {ku}.

89. The morpheme {to} is usually interpreted as the root of the verb toa 'lack, not have', so that the negative infinitive is actually a compound verbal form. This is further confirmed by the occurrence of forms like kutoafanya and even kutoakufanya 'not to do', with a 'unitive' word-stress (cf. 2.1.5.1). Occasionally, the morpheme {to} also occurs after the marker to contrast an affirmative with a negative form of the same verb in an alternative, e.g., akifika au akitofika nitapanda gari la moshi kesho 'whether he arrives or not, I will take the train tomorrow'. However, in Zanzibar, {to} is effectively used in colloquial speech as a tense-marker instead of {ta} in the negative future, e.g., hutolala hapa leo 'you will not sleep here today'; gilasi haitovunjika 'the glass will not break'. In many cases, it seems to have an intensive connotation, emphasizing the negation, e.g., asipokuja hatopata fedha 'if he does not come, he will (definitely) not get the money.'

90. The verbal stem leta 'bring' is always used in the adhortative, even without an object infix, e.g., lete chumvi 'bring the salt!' The imperative of the verbal root {ɟ} 'come' is njoo, plural njoni, whereas the root {end} 'go' appears as /nend/ in the imperative, e.g., nenda 'go!'.

91. With wa from {wa} + {a}.

92. The relative morpheme accordingly corresponds formally to the bound form of the referential substitutive (cf. 2.4.3.1).

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93. This rule also applies analogically to -enda and -isha (cf. Notes 76, 79, 80).

94. Actually, the set of structural patterns applying to the relative could be reformulated in one rule: the relative morpheme is inserted in the verbal complex after the first inflectional element, whether post-initial, marker or final, e.g., afikaye '(he) who arrives' (relative -ye after the final {a}); asiyefika '(he) who does not arrive' (relative -ye after the postinitial {si}); anayefika '(he) who is arriving', aliyefika '(he) who arrived', atakayefika '(he) who will arrive' (relative -ye after the tense-marker).

    Worth mentioning is also the secondary stress on the tense-marker when the relative applies to the infix, e.g., (chombo) alichokivunja [aˌli·t̠šokɪ'vu·nd̠ža̠] 'the pot he broke'.

95. As a matter of fact, the 'actual' concessive in {ŋga} developed from contexts where the persistence of a situation was contrasted with the non-obtainment of a result, apparently depending on the situation.

96. The {me} tense of kuwa points to a completed action resulting in a still existing situation, e.g., Je, umekuwa mwalimu? 'What! *Have you become a teacher?! The idea that the resulting situation* has not yet been reached is expressed by {ɟa}, e.g., sijawa tayari 'I have not yet become ready' → 'I'm not ready yet!'

97. I.e., alone, when the noun to which they refer is known, e.g., lete safi 'bring clean ones' (applying to vikombe 'cups').

98. Numerals which normally take the class-concord prefix often remain invariable in colloquial speech when they refer to the units in numbers larger than 10, e.g., miaka ishirini na nane (instead of minane) 'twenty-eight years'.

99. Though they are usually formally linked with verb phrases or clauses, the locatives from the adjective stem -ingine, e.g., kwingine 'elsewhere, in another direction', pengine 'elsewhere, sometimes, other times', as well as the locatives from pronominal stems indicating: (a) a definite position (class 16); (b) an indefinite position or a movement to or from a place (class 17); (c) a position inside an area (class 18), cannot be considered as members of this subgroup of invariables, because they are fully integrated into the class-concord system, as appears from the relevant concords in the subject slot in dependent verbal forms, e.g., hapa pamelala chui 'a leopard is asleep here'; pale pana msitu 'there is thick bush there'; as well as from the concord in the possessive in hapa ni petu 'this is our place (home)'. Moreover, they do not occur as first member of complexes with the connective ya or the associative na, like chini ya kiti 'under the chair' or mbali na bahari 'far from the sea'. This restriction

also applies to the simple demonstratives hapa, huku, humu 'here'; pale, kule, mle 'there' (both series with their specific connotations); huko and humo, pointing to the places the speaker has in mind, as well as to the complex demonstratives, e.g., kuku huku 'just there', mumu humu 'just in there', papa hapa 'just here', papo hapo 'immediately, just then', and the reduplicated forms kule kule 'in the same direction', pale pale 'in the same spot; at the very moment'.

Similarly, the particular use of adjectival and pronominal stems with the class-prefix {vi} in connection with verbal forms actually belongs to definite syntactic patterns. In these patterns, these forms fill the same slot as a noun functioning as object, or as a noun adding some specification in respect to the process or situation described by the verbal form. Thus, tumjaribu vingine 'let us test him in some other way' is structurally parallel to the aphorism kununua ng'ombe kwato 'to buy an ox by his hoof', as vingine merely points to the other criteria used for testing him. The same applies to demonstratives like vile in phrases like kusikia vile, e.g., tuliposikia vile tukaogopa 'when we heard how matters were, we became frightened'. Indeed, this sentence literally means 'we heard those at the moment under reference (-po) and then (subsecutive {ka}) we feared'. As for upesi 'quickly', in alikwenda upesi 'he went quickly', it is actually the abstract noun with the class-prefix {u} from the adjective stem -epesi 'quick, agile', assuming the same function of specification as mfuli(li)zo in the sentence ndugu zake walikufa mfuli(li)zo 'her brothers died in quick succession'.

100. The use of prepositional phrases is obviously a recent development in Swahili. In some cases the underlying syntactic pattern is still apparent, e.g., with mpaka, which must originally have been used beside the noun indicating the place towards which the action expressed by the verb is directed, in order to specify that this place constitutes the terminal point of the process, as appears from examples like watasafiri Ujiji 'they will travel to Ujiji' : watasafiri mpaka Ujiji 'they will travel as far as Ujiji', i.e., 'to Ujiji as the limit (= terminal point of their journey)'.

101. Apart from its other associative functions (cf. 2.5.2.3).

102. The meaning 'peace' is no longer consciously attached to it, and for greeting, the form salamu is used, e.g., in toa salamu (= salimu) 'greet', leta salamu (= salimia) 'convey a greeting', etc. A more common greeting is jambo (literally, 'matter'), which is the only currently used form in non-Islamic areas.

103. Probably borrowed from the speech of the local Indian population (cf. Hindi chub 'be quiet!').

NOTES

104. The locative *jikoni* (from *jiko* 'open fire') actually refers to the 'cooking place', e.g., *nilitoa wali jikoni* 'I removed the rice from the stove', but in colloquial speech it is currently lexicalized with the meaning 'kitchen'.

105. Sometimes the class-concord provides a trace of the nominal origin of some of them, e.g., *mbele za wanafunzi* with the {n}-class plural concord {z(i)}, alternating with *mbele ya wanafunzi* 'in front of the students'.

106. More commonly used as a phrase with the meaning 'it depends on you'.

107. For place-names neither prefix nor suffix is used, whereas -*ni* usually occurs with common nouns indicating a place, e.g., *wamekwenda Morogoro* 'they have gone to Morogoro': *wamekwenda mwituni* 'they have gone to the forest'; cf., however, *wamekwenda shamba* 'they went to the country'.

108. For the present tense forms, however, cf. 2.5.6.

109. {ndi} is presumably composed of the particle {ni} plus the verbal root {li} 'be' (cf. 2.4.4.6) with loss of the -*i*- of *ni* in proclitic use and the subsequent morphophonemic change of /n/ + /l/ into /nd/.

110. Note the use of the possessive as substitute for the relative after the invariable (cf. 2.5.2.2).

111. When followed by the locative referential substitute, the subject-prefix of the third person singular (class 1) appears in its allomorph /ju/.

112. In this case the allomorph of the pronominal concord of the third person singular (in class 1) is /ju/, e.g., *Hamisi yu dhaifu* 'Hamisi is weak'.

113. In colloquial speech it is often no longer possible to make this distinction, as the use of *ni* has been generalized to cases where the standard written language would require the pronominal subject-prefix. Moreover, *ni* itself is often left out, especially when the subject is a pronoun or a noun accompanied by a demonstrative or a possessive. However, there is still much inconsistency in usage, so that the same informant from Zanzibar would say *gilasi chafu* 'the glasses are dirty', and *nyumba yako safi* 'your house is clean', but *mlango u wazi* 'the door is open', and *kahawa i baridi* 'the coffee is cold'. Similarly, an educated speaker from the Mrima coast would say *bilauri ni chafu*, and *nyumba yako (ni) safi*, but *mlango u wazi*, and *biya hii i moto* 'this beer is warm'. In Pemba, however, forms like *gilasi zi safi* 'the glasses are clean' or *nyumbayo i safi* 'your house is clean' are still current in daily speech.

The whole problem of constructions of the type: subject + copula + predicate nominal is thoroughly reexamined in a forthcoming article by E. Closs, A. Kondo and S. Mbaye, 'Copula constructions in Swahili'. The evidence collected by Miss Closs confirms the decreasing use of the subject-prefix, but, conversely, points to the occasional use of yu instead of ni in the third person singular in the spoken language, e.g., baba yu baharia 'father is a sailor'.

114. The use of these forms is apparently connected with definite stylistic levels of speech: while -je belongs to a rather familiar style, and -pi is merely an allegro-form in colloquial speech, -ni is frowned upon as characteristic of uneducated speakers.

115. Some speakers even contrast samaki mmoja (with the {m} concord of class 1) with samaki moja (with the zero allomorph of the {n} prefix of class 9) to specify that the fish under reference is either alive or cooked; accordingly, if fish is offered for sale, the customer will ask in the colloquial speech of Dar es Salaam, Zanzibar or Tanga: Samaki huyu mbichi? 'Is this fish fresh?' However, 'salted fish' is either samaki wa chumvi or samaki ya chumvi; moreover, live fish in a river, a pond or the sea may be called samaki ya mto, samaki ya ziwani or samaki ya bahari, respectively, whereas samaki mkavu is currently used for 'dried fish'.

116. This use can be paralleled by the appearance of the pronominal concords of class 9 and 10 before {o} and {e} in the enclitic possessives of the second and third person with ndugu, rafiki, etc. (cf. 2.4.3.3).

117. There is, however, considerable fluctuation in colloquial usage, e.g., in Zanzibar, where the singular shangazi langu 'my paternal aunt', with class 5 concord, contrasts with the plural mashangazi zangu 'my paternal aunts', with class 10 concord.

118. The omission of the concord-prefix of the adjective may be due to the desire to avoid redundancy of the class-markers: the linking pronominal prefix u indicates clearly that chungu applies to muhogo, whereas the invariable ni in the alternate construction does not specify the class of the predicate; hence the nominal concord-prefix in the adjective (ni mchungu). In the {n} class, where the contrast between singular and plural remains unmarked in the nominal concord system, the pronominal prefix {zi} apparently functions as pluralizer, e.g., tende zi mbovu 'the dates are rotten'.

119. Locatives in -ni appear with the possessive, the demonstrative or complexes with the connective particle {a} following them; they cannot be followed by an adjective (cf. 2.5.2).

120. This is usually the case in colloquial speech, where sequences of more than two attributive determinatives occur less frequently,

and the most common order of priority in sequences of two attributive determinatives after the noun appears to be:

1. possessive;
2. (descriptive) adjective;
3. demonstrative;
4. numeral;

e.g., *mtoto wangu mdogo* 'my small child'; *mkate mbovu huu* 'this rotten bread'; *wageni wale watatu* 'these three foreigners'.

Besides, as a rule, adjectives indicating quantity follow descriptive adjectives, e.g., *nyanya mbivu chache* 'a few ripe tomatoes'; in this case the demonstrative will follow the adjective of quantity, e.g., *nyanya mbivu chache zile* 'those few ripe tomatoes'.

Instead of a sequence like *watoto wetu wadogo wawili* 'our two small children', Swahili speakers will currently say *watoto wetu wawili wale wadogo*, using an appositional phrase with the demonstrative followed by the descriptive adjective after the noun phrase with the possessive and the numeral.

121. Also to be mentioned among the non-verbal determinatives are:

(1) the prepositional phrases with *bila* 'without', e.g., *bila shaka utakuja tena kesho* 'you will undoubtedly come again tomorrow'. However, such phrases also occur as determinatives to nouns, e.g., *mali bila daftari hupotea bila habari* 'property without an account book will get lost without information'.

(2) complexes with the associative particle {na}--besides the cases described under 2.5.3.(2)-(3)--especially to indicate an instrument in the possession of the subject or a person accompanying him, e.g., *seremala alifika na mbao nyingi* 'the carpenter arrived with a lot of planks'; *afisa alifika jana na karani wake* 'the official arrived yesterday with his clerk' (since the subject and the complement of {na} are both animate, it is possible to rephrase this sentence as *afisa na karani wake walifika jana*, in which case *na* functions merely as a link between two coordinate subject nouns).

122. The same function is also assumed by parallel constructions of definite nouns like *mahali* plus its class-concord and the connective particle {a}, e.g., *nilikiandika mahali pa mwalimu* 'I wrote it instead of the teacher'.

123. Nominal stems with the prefix {u} sometimes indicate manner, e.g., *(mambo) yamekwenda upande* 'things have gone all wrong' (literally, 'sideways').

124. It is to be understood that in the negative form *ha-* stands for *si-* in the first person singular and that the usual morphophonemic changes take place in the other two persons of the singular.

125. The infinitive of the main verb may also occur in certain contexts, e.g., *wakipata mali watoto wao watakuja kutapanya mapesa sana* 'if they get property, their children will spend extravagantly (later on)'.

126. In this case, *kuja* is in the subjunctive.

127. In nomino-verbal sentences, a double concord accordingly often appears: (a) nominal in the nominal constituent of the predicate; (b) pronominal in the initial of the tense-form of *kuwa*, e.g., *mayai (tuliyoyala) yalikuwa mazuri* 'the eggs (we ate) were good'.

     A similar double concord may occur in nominal clauses when the predicate contains the initial pronominal prefix functioning as a link between the subject and the nominal constituent of the predicate, as in *upanga u mkali* 'the sword is sharp'. However, when the subject belongs to the {n} class, where the contrast between singular and plural remains morphologically unmarked in the nominal concord, the pronominal prefix apparently functions as a number-marker, e.g., in *tende zi mbovu* 'the dates are rotten', where {zi} serves essentially as a pluralizer (cf. Note 118).

128. Cf. 2.6.1.3, on the absence of the nominal concord in *tamu* and contrast with *machungwa ni matamu* 'the oranges are sweet ones'.

129. In colloquial speech *baridi* 'cold' and *moto* 'hot' (literally, 'fire') are often treated as invariables functioning as adjectives and used with the pronominal subject only (cf. Note 113), e.g., *pasi i moto mno* 'the iron is too hot'. The same speaker would, however, contrast *kahawa i baridi* 'the coffee is cold' with *una baridi*? 'you have chills?'

130. I.e., the bound form of the substitutives of the classes 16, 17 and 18 (cf. 2.4.3.1), forming a *quasi-verbal complex* with the pronominal subject-prefix (cf. 2.5.6(1)).

131. Negative forms with the preprefix *ha*- plus the pronominal subject-prefix also occur occasionally in colloquial speech, except in the third person plural, according to E. Closs (in her forthcoming article 'Copula constructions in Swahili'), e.g., *hatu wapishi* 'we are not cooks'; *ham wanafunzi* 'you are not students'; *hayu mpishi* 'he is not a cook' (versus the affirmative *yu mpishi*; cf. Note 113).

132. For a detailed discussion of the use of *ndi*, cf. the section on 'The formants *ndi*-/*ndiyo*/*ndio*' in the forthcoming article by E. Closs, A. Kondo and S. Mbaye, 'Copula constructions in Swahili'.

133. For a more comprehensive study of word order and shift in 'Copula constructions in Swahili', cf. the relevant section in the article of that title by E. Closs, A. Kondo and S. Mbaye (cf. Notes 113, 131, 132).

NOTES

134. Cf. 2.6.2.2.1, for this use of the noun.

135. This construction is especially common in nominal clauses with the associative particle {na}, the locative occurring either in initial or in final position, e.g., *kisimani mna tope* ~ *mna tope kisimani* 'there is mud in the well'; *juu ya kabati pana picha* ~ *pana picha juu ya kabati* 'there is a picture above the cupboard'.

136. When the verbal stem derived from the root with the final {a} no longer occurs in Swahili, e.g., {amba}, used exclusively in relative complexes, two constructions are possible, e.g., *tulimwambia mwenzetu habari* 'we told our companion the news', *mwenzetu aliambiwa habari* 'our companion was told the news', besides *habari ziliambiwa* 'the news was told'. However, the second construction sounds unfamiliar to most speakers, who would say *habari zilisimuliwa* (: *nilimsimulia habari* 'I told him the news').

137. Actually there is a double direct object in this construction, the specific part of the body affected by the verbal process functioning as a partitive apposition to the object which controls the infix slot. Similar constructions can be found in Arabic.

A closely parallel pattern appears in cases like *walimvua mtu koti* 'they took off his coat' (literally, 'they unclothed the man as to his coat'), in which *mtu* controls the infix slot in the verbal forms, as it is obviously the object on which the action of undressing is performed, whereas *koti* merely *specifies* what piece of clothing is taken off. Word-order is apparently different in this case, but, as a matter of fact, some speakers also say *walimkata ndege kichwa*. A further parallel syntactic structure appears in clauses like *nilimfanya Hamisi msimamizi* 'I made Hamisi headman (of the plantation)', in which *msimamizi* merely functions as *objective complement* to the direct object *Hamisi* controlling the infix slot in the verbal form.

138. The same function is assumed by the relative in verb phrases like *walipokuwa wakisoma* 'while they were reading' (cf. Note 84), as well as by the stereotyped relative forms like *mnamo*, followed by indications of hours or days, e.g., *mnamo saa sita* 'round midday', *mnamo Jumapili* 'on (during) Sunday'.

139. When the subject of the principal and of the subordinate clauses is the same, the subjunctive form is often replaced by the infinitive, e.g., *tunakwenda msituni kuwinda* 'we are going to the bush to hunt'. This infinitive can optionally be preceded by the conjunction *ili* 'in order that', which also occurs with the subjunctive when the subjects of the two clauses are different, e.g., *ninamwita mtoto ili anilete gazeti langu* 'I am calling the boy in order that he will bring me my newspaper'.

140. Parallel to this usage is the occurrence of the subjunctive, besides the infinitive, with the nouns *lazima* and *sharti* to mark

a necessity or obligation, e.g., *(ni) lazima aende* 'he must go' (~ *ni lazima kwenda*).

141. To express the non-realization of an expected process with reference to the present, some speakers use a special tense form with a marker {ɟe} on pattern (b) of the negative order, i.e., with the postinitial negative {si} (cf. 2.4.4.5), e.g., *safisha meza asijefika* 'clean the table before he arrives' (: *nilisafisha meza kabla hajafika* 'I cleaned the table before he arrived'). The marker {ɟe} may consist of the marker {ɟa} plus the morpheme {i} expressing a non-actual connotation, as has been assumed in connection with {ŋge} versus {ŋga} (cf. Note 87).

142. In a list established after a nation-wide inquiry, and containing the Swahili vocabulary actively known at pre-school age by most children all over Tanganyika, only 166 out of 274 nouns are of Bantu origin, whereas only 13 out of 132 verbs are not. All the non-Bantu verbs are of Arabic origin. Of the nouns, 12 are English loans, 8 are of Indian origin, 4 are borrowed from Portuguese, a few are from Mauritian French (*shamba*), German (*shule*) and Persian (*pilipili*), but the great bulk of the non-Bantu nouns is definitely Arabic.

143. However, in colloquial speech, the syllable-final obstruent [*b*] often shows a short vocalic release [^{ʊ}] which does not affect the position of the word-stress (cf. 2.1.4).

144. In mentioning the sources of the Arabic loans in Swahili, reference is made to a tentatively phonemicized form of Modern Written Arabic. Though historical events make it probable that the dialects of Oman (Muscat) and Mehri (Hadramaut) supplied most of the Swahili words of Arabic origin, it is practically impossible to refer to the forms of these dialects for lack of a reliable phonetic and phonemic analysis of the same. However, the assumption of some earlier scholars that colloquial Egyptian Arabic had a distinct influence on Zanzibar Swahili is contradicted by such contrasts as Swahili *jinsi* 'sort, kind' versus Egyptian Arabic /gins/. Quite a few Swahili words, indeed, seem to have been borrowed from an Arabic dialect in which the palatalized Semitic */g/ was still reflected by a palatal stop, whose point of articulation was presumably less fronted than is traditionally assumed for the realization of Classical Arabic /ǧ/ as an affricate [dž], though the Mehri dialect, for example, shows [d^{j}]. As the Egyptian dialect shows [g] in these cases, this accounts for contrasts such as:

Swahili *jabali* 'rock': Egyptian Arabic /gabal/ 'mountain';
Swahili *jirani* 'neighbor': Egyptian Arabic /giraan/;
Swahili *jumla* 'sum, total, wholesale': Egyptian Arabic /gumla/, etc.

There is, however, one typical occurrence of /g/ in a Swahili loanword from Arabic, namely *siagi* 'butter', but as a technical word, it can easily have come from another source than the bulk of the loanwords.

Another case of divergence in Swahili loans from Arabic versus Egyptian Arabic is the treatment of the Classical Arabic /q/, which is always reflected by /k/ in Swahili (with a possible Arabizing pronunciation [q] in the coastal and island areas among more sophisticated speakers). Swahili /k/ indeed contrasts with Egyptian Arabic /ʔ/, e.g., in *kufuli* 'padlock': Egyptian Arabic /ʔifl/: Classical Arabic /qufl/.

145. The distinction between /ð/, /ð̣/ and /ḍ/ is still made by some cultivated speakers of the older generation in Mombasa, but many of them are rather inconsistent in the choice of the proper reflex of the Arabic phonemes, pronouncing, e.g., the emphatic [ð̣] instead of the non-emphatic [ð] in *hadhari* 'exercise care'.

146. Cf. 2.2.2.4; 2.3.1(c).

147. Some nouns which are usually classified as belonging to the {n} class even take the personal class-concord for the possessive in colloquial speech, e.g., (Zanzibar) *askari wetu* 'our soldiers', instead of *askari zetu* (cf. 2.6.1.1).

148. Literally, 'non-fasting', from *kufungua* 'unfasten', hence 'cease fasting'.

149. The last two examples point to the continuation of Persian cultural influence up to a fairly recent date. However, as Persian loans in Hindi and Arabic are quite numerous, it is often impossible to decide whether Swahili borrowed a definite term directly from Persian or received it through the channel of a particular Arabic or Indic dialect. This is the case with words like *serikali* 'government' (: Hindi /serkar/), which ultimately reflects a Persian compound consisting of *sar* 'head' and *kar* 'work'. More complex again is the case of *limau* 'lemon': the name of the lemon is apparently of Persian origin, but neither Hindi nor Arabic can account for the Swahili form, which reflects Portuguese *limão*.

3. THE WRITING SYSTEM

3.0. Nowadays most writing in Swahili is in the romanized standard spelling which developed from the practical orthography devised by Christian missionaries in the 19th century. However, writing and reading Swahili was a common practice in East Africa long before their arrival. The Arabs, trained from their early youth in reading and copying verses of the Koran, made use of Arabic script to write the coastal vernacular--Swahili--and very soon educated religious leaders established the tradition of Swahili versification, which has remained astonishingly alive until the present day. This tradition mainly developed in the coastal area northward from Mombasa, with the island of Lamu as its principal center, but while the Amu dialect was predominantly used as the medium for Swahili verse, the orthographic conventions established for the poetry were only part of a more widespread effort to use Arabic script with hardly any modification for the general writing of Swahili. The script was practically required to meet the needs for written communication over the wide area in which coastal and inland trade had tremendously developed with the expansion of Moslem sway all along the East coast of Africa.

3.1. The Arabic script

That the Arabic alphabet is a far from adequate means to write a Bantu language like Swahili is obvious, since it does not supply the symbols to denote a series of vowel and consonant phonemes with high functional load, like /e/, /o/, /g/, /p/, /c/ or a pre-consonantal tautosyllabic nasal. Accordingly, a great deal of ambiguity results:

(1) from the necessity of using some graphs to denote more than one phoneme, e.g., ج (Arabic jiim) for /ɟ/, /ɲ/ or /ŋ/, as well as for /nɟ/ or /ŋg/;

(2) from the multiple possibilities of graphic representation of definite phonemes, e.g., /g/ reflected by the Arabic symbols *ɣain* غ, *qaaf* ق, *kaaf* ك, and sometimes also ج.

Though individual writers usually show a wide degree of consistency in their distinctive use of Arabic signs for specific Swahili phonemes, the absence of a generally admitted system of workable one-to-one correspondences between definite Arabic symbols and Swahili sounds makes the Arabic script scarcely suitable for practical purposes, and it has been completely discontinued in education and book-printing as well as in the press. The only regular Swahili publication in Arabic script still appearing until recently was the small two-page supplement inserted in the Zanzibar government weekly *Maarifa*; it was mainly intended for older people whose literacy was restricted to Koranic readings, and who were accordingly only familiar with the Arabic writing system. The same people would still use it for writing purposes, not only in Zanzibar and Mombasa, but also in traditionally-minded Swahili communities as far inland as Tabora. In the 19th century, however, Arabic script still prevailed and German administrators and tradesmen leaving for East Africa were taught the art of letter-writing in this difficult script to bridge the gap between Europeans and East-Africans exclusively educated in the traditional way. In spite of diacritics, there was, however, no hint other than the context to distinguish *bibi* 'lady' from *pembe* 'ivory; horn', or *yako* 'your' from *yangu* 'my', when they were written بِبِ and يَاقُ, respectively, since *kasra* ـِ represents either /i/ or /e/ and *damma* ـُ either /u/ or /o/, and *baaʔ* ب can stand for /b/, /p/ or /mb/, and *qaaf* ق for /g/, /k/ or /ŋg/. Perhaps the most complex problem in the interpretation of older Swahili poetry is to transliterate its Swahili-Arabic script correctly, since the multifarious interpretations of definite graphemes are further complicated by dialectal differences, e.g., in kiTikuu where /z/ is actualized as [ð], but represented by ظ (*ẓaaʔ*) as well as by ذ (*ðaal*).

Various efforts were made to render Arabic script more suitable for writing Swahili, e.g., by adding the Perso-Arabic signs for /p/, /c/ and /ŋ/, also used in Urdu, e.g., پ چ ڠ . In view of the functional load of the contrast between aspirates and non-aspirates in kiMvita, Taylor tried to introduce new symbols in Mombasa for /ph/, /th/, /kh/ and /ch/, viz. ٿ ڀ ګ ڴ , but he could not make the local scribes adopt them. In the thirties, Sheikh al-Amin of Mombasa made a serious attempt to standardize the Swahili-Arabic script by adopting the Perso-Arabic signs پ and چ for /p/ and /c/, but using ڠ for /g/ and ڤ for /v/; he ascribed fixed values to various combinations of symbols to represent /ɲ/, /kw/, /mb/, /mbw/, /nd/, /nz/ and /nɟ/, and introduced two new vowel-signs for /e/ and /o/, viz. إ and أ . Though he applied his system in a newspaper and a book of religious literature which he published in Tanga, his efforts did not meet with success, so that, nowadays, literate Swahilis resort more and more to the generally accepted Roman script to write their language, as all non-native speakers using it actually do. A knowledge of Arabic script is therefore practically only required for the student of older literature, who is doing philological work on the manuscripts.

3.2. Romanization

The romanization of Swahili is the result of early missionary activity and later standardization for practical purposes. It originated in the grammatical and lexicographical work of Dr. L. Krapf around the middle of the 19th century. It was improved by Bishop Steere in his Swahili handbook in 1865, when he introduced the complex grapheme ng' to denote /ŋ/, as contrasting with ng /ŋg/ and ny /ɲ/[1]. Neither, however, indicated the aspirates by special symbols, though Steere mentions that 'before k, p, and t, the n is dropped, and they become k', p', and t''. A phonetically more accurate representation of the Swahili sounds was advocated both by Carl Meinhof and C. Sacleux, and in the latter's most valuable dictionary, aspiration is marked by the diacritic

ʿ after /p/, /t/, /k/ and /c/, which he writes *č*. Similarly, diacritics differentiate /ŋ/ and /ɲ/ from /n/ (written *ṅ* : *n̮* : *n*, respectively), as well as /g/ from /γ/ (written *g* : *ĝ*, respectively). Sacleux consistently represents /θ/ as *s*, whereas for the reflexes of /ð/, he establishes a distinction between an interdental *z̳* and an alveolar *z*, the coalescence of the allophones of /ð/ with /z/ occurring when they correspond to Arabic *dhaal* (ذ = [ð]), whereas *z̳* reflects Arabic *ẓaaʔ* (ظا = [ð̣]) or *ḍaad* (ض = [ḍ]). In his attempt to reflect all the phonetic features of Swahili in its writing system, Sacleux, however, goes as far as establishing special symbols to denote minute differences between distributionally definable allophones of such phonemes as /ɟ/, or between sociologically and geographically determined pronunciation variants of /γ/, e.g., *dyambo* 'thing, matter' /ɟambo/ : *ndžaa* 'hunger' /ɲɟaa/; *ĝali* : *r̂ali* 'expensive' /γali/[2]. His spelling system, which tended to include the main dialectal features in the written language, was too complex to gain wide acceptance, and with the growing prestige of Steere's handbook as a model for all further linguistic description of Swahili and upon the practically complete disappearance of German influence on education of East Africa[3], the romanization system devised by the early missionaries prevailed, but only in the thirties did the system in present use obtain its offical status as the standard Swahili orthography, after long discussions within the newly formed Inter-Territorial Language Committee for the East-African Dependencies. Though not strictly phonemic, it is far more adequate for the writing of Swahili than is the Arabic script. With the spread of Swahili to a growing number of non-native speakers through education and modern means of mass communication, some functionally relevant contrasts, like the aspirate versus non-aspirate contrast in the voiceless stops, which the written forms do not denote, tend to be eliminated. Thus, Swahili graphemes are gradually influencing its phonemics.

3.3. Grapheme-phoneme correspondence

There is one-to-one correspondence between graphemes and phonemes for the following segmental phonemes:

(a) vowels:

i = /i/, e = /e/, a = /a/, o = /o/, u = /u/;

(b) consonants:

l = /l/, r = /r/, y = /j/, w = /w/;
b = /b/, d = /d/, j = /ɟ/, g = /g/;
v = /v/, f = /f/, z = /z/, s = /s/.

Diagraphs are used to represent /ð/ (dh), /θ/ (th), /γ/ (gh), /š/ (sh), /ɲ/ (ny), /c/ and /ch/ (ch). As already mentioned, there is no graphic differentiation between /p/, /t/, /c/, /k/, and /ph/, /th/, /ch/, /kh/, both series being represented by p, t, ch, and k. /h/ is usually represented by h, but in some cases, when the pronunciation [x] prevails, it is denoted by the digraph kh, e.g., khalifa 'caliph'. For /ŋ/ the digraph ng is used with the diacritic ('), e.g., in ng'ara (~ ng'aa) 'be bright', to differentiate it from ng, reflecting /ŋg/, e.g., in ngara (male blossom of maize). There is no graphic distinction between the syllabic and non-syllabic allophones of /m/ and /n/; however, in the case of the syllabic allophone [ŋ̩] of /ŋ/, the spelling ng'ge co-occurs with nge for disyllabic ['ŋ̩ge] 'scorpion', but otherwise, syllabicity is unmarked for [ŋ̩] as well as for [n̩] or [m̩].

Suprasegmentals are not marked, except for the word boundary.

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The best introduction to the use of Arabic script for the writing of Swahili is J.W.T. Allen's Arabic Script for Students of Swahili, published as a supplement to Tanganyika Notes and Records in 1945. A selection of letters and other writings in Arabic script with transliteration was published by C.G. Büttner under the title

Suaheli-Schriftstücke in arabischer Schrift (Stuttgart-Berlin, 1892). Valuable indications on the use of Arabic script in poetry are given by Lyndon Harries in his *Swahili Poetry* (Oxford, 1962), especially pp. 15-19.

In his article 'Leidende Beginselen voor een spelling van het Swahili' [Guiding Principles for a Spelling of Swahili], published in *Kongo-Overzee*, Vol. XXII (1956), pp. 342-59, J. Knappert, in an effort to eliminate the reflexes of morphophonemic changes in the spelling, made a plea for taking morphemics as the basis for the standard written form of Swahili.

NOTES

1. Krapf wrote *gnombe* and *ngombe* for *ng'ombe* 'cow', confusing /ŋ/ and /ŋg/ and represented /ɲ/ by means of the complex *gni*, e.g., *gnieta* for *nyeta* 'be ill-mannered'.

2. In this context, Sacleux actually uses four symbols: ĝ̱ for the velar fricative [ɣ], ṟ̂ for the uvular fricative [ʁ], ġ̱ for the uvular stop [ɢ], and ṟ̇ for the uvular trill [ʀ], all four pronunciations occurring in initial position in *ghafula* 'suddenly', depending on the degree of the speaker's sophistication in pronouncing Arabic and on his dialectal area.

3. Therefore, Carl Meinhof remained unsuccessful in his efforts to establish a Swahili writing system which would take all the functionally relevant differences in pronunciation in the speech of educated Swahilis into account, e.g., the contrast between aspirate and non-aspirate voiceless stops; the contrast between dental [t̪], [d̪] and retroflex [ṭ], [ḍ] in kiMvit̲a, which appears nowadays as [t̪]:[t̲] and [d̪]:[d̲] (cf. Chap. 1, Note 20); etc. Actually, some of the distinctions he established were only positional variants, e.g., the voiceless affricate with *lenis* alveolar off-glide [tẑ̥] in *jicho* 'eye' (Meinhof *djitžo*), versus the voiceless *fortis* affricate with post-alveolar off-glide [tɕ] in *nchi* 'country' (Meinhof *ntši*), [tɕ] occurring in postnasal position; as for [tž̥] ~ [tɕ] versus [tj], the contrast is only historically relevant: [tj] reflects earlier /ki/ before tautosyllabic vowel phonemes, whereas [tž̥] ~ [tɕ] are assumed to be reflexes of the proto-Bantu palatal */c/ posited by Meinhof.

4. POINTS OF CONTRAST WITH ENGLISH

4.0. The important structural differences between Swahili and English cause a considerable amount of difficulty for the native speaker of Swahili who studies English. Parallel though different problems arise for the American student of Swahili. A thorough analysis of these problems would require an extensive contrastive study of English and Swahili, of which only a sampling can be given here.

4.1. Phonology

4.1.1. Vowels

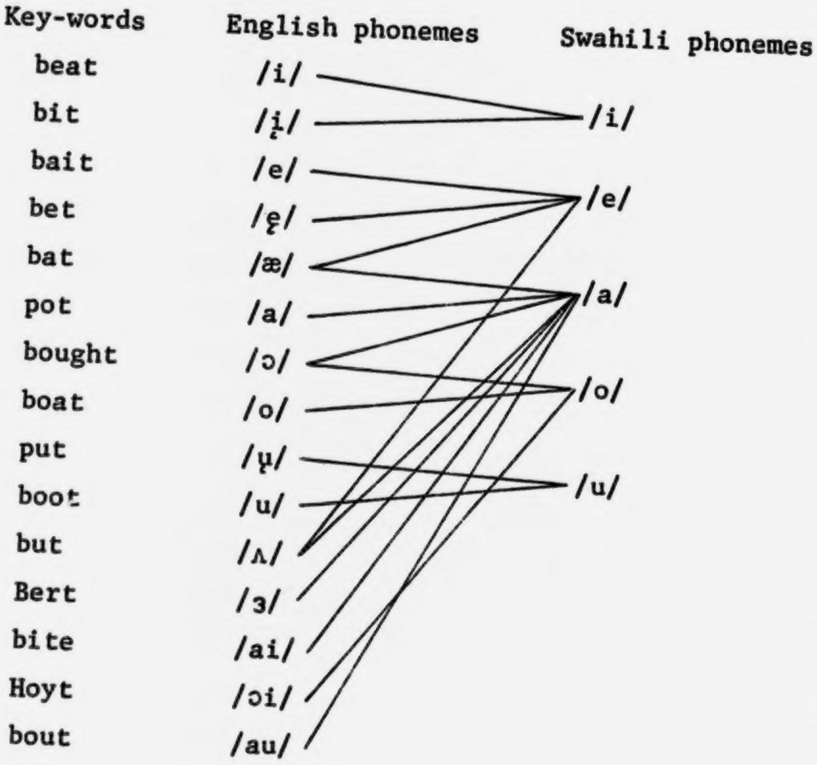
Let us first examine the phonic differences between the two languages. The following vowel sounds occur in Swahili:

	Front	Central	Back
High	[i]		[u]
	[ɪ]		[ʊ]
Mid	[e]		[o]
	[ɛ̞]	[ə]	[ɔ̞]
Low	[a]		[ɑ]

Whereas, in Swahili, [i] : [ɪ], [u] : [ʊ], [e] : [ɛ̞] and [o] : [ɔ̞] are in complementary distribution or--depending on the individual speaker--in free variation, in English such distinctive features as the difference in height and tension of [i] : [į] or [u] : [ų] are phonemically contrastive, e.g., in beat : bit or Luke : look. Moreover, the English mid high vowel phonemes /e/ and /o/ are diphthongs in most environments, as contrasted with the lower monophthongs /ę/ and /ɔ/, e.g., in coat ['ko^{u}t] : caught ['kɔt], or mate ['me^{i}t] : met ['męt]. Besides, the distribution of vowel length is different in Swahili and English, stress and nasal clusters being mainly responsible for lengthening in Swahili, whereas, in English, voice in preconsonantal position makes the vowel half long and word-final position entails a more marked lengthening. Furthermore, Swahili has no correspondences for the special dialectal treatments of vowels before /r/ in American English, and for the diphthongs /ai/, /oi/, /au/.

As a consequence, the American speaker of Swahili will tend (a) to diphthongize the mid high allophones of /e/ and /o/; (b) to distribute length incorrectly, especially in lengthening all word-final vowels.

As for the Swahili-speaker learning English, he will have to redistribute the allophones of his five phonemes and to become aware of their contrast in environments where he would normally admit only one of them; moreover, he will have to redistribute length according to a different pattern. In the process of learning to distinguish /æ/ : /a/ or /ʌ/ : /ɜ/, he is likely to contrast the first two as the front and back allophones of his /a/ phoneme[1], and to have trouble in distinguishing the last two with reference to the mid low central unstressed [ə] allophone of his /a/ phoneme--the more so as the functional load of this sound will appear to be much greater in American English because of the neutralization in unstressed position of numerous vowel oppositions in the same mid central vowel /ə/. Besides, the English diphthongs will tend to be monophthongized. Leaving out the complex case of vowel plus /r/, the following redistribution of English vowel phonemes in stressed position is predictable for a native speaker of Swahili at the earlier stages of his acquisition of English:


Key-words
English phonemes
Swahili phonemes
beat
/i/
bit
/ɨ/
bait
/e/
bet
/ẹ/
bat
/æ/
pot
/a/
bought
/ɔ/
boat
/o/
put
/ụ/
boot
/u/
but
/ʌ/
Bert
/ɜ/
bite
/ai/
Hoyt
/ɔi/
bout
/au/
/i/
/e/
/a/
/o/
/u/

4.1.2. Consonants

As regards the consonant phonemes, the phonemic systems of Swahili and English may be compared as follows:

SWAHILI

	Labial		Dental		Palatal		Velar	
Stops	p	b	t	d	c	ɟ	k	g
	p^h		t^h		c^h		k^h	
Fricatives	f	v	θ	ð				ɣ
Sibilants			s	z	š			
Nasals		m		n		ɲ		ŋ
Other	w			l r		j		h

ENGLISH

	Labial		Dental		Palatal		Velar	
Stops	p	b	t	d	c	ɟ	k	g
Fricatives	f	v	θ	ð				
Sibilants			s	z	š	ž		
Nasals		m		n				ŋ
Other				l r		j	w	h

In these diagrams the solid lines show areas where no English phoneme apparently corresponds to a Swahili phoneme and vice-versa, whereas the dotted lines point to Swahili phonemes whose realization in specific environments show phonetic features differing considerably from those of the allophones of the corresponding English phonemes[2].

The phonemic feature 'labial' includes two types of articulation:

(a) bilabial for /p b m/ in both languages, and also for /pʰ/ in Swahili;

(b) labiodental for /f v/ in both languages.

The phonemic feature 'dental' applies to the consonants articulated in the immediate vicinity of the teeth: the fricatives /θ ð/ can be described as apico-dental in both languages; /t d n/ are apico-alveolar, and /s z/ either apico-alveolar or dorso-alveolar in English. An alveolar articulation is also characteristic of Swahili /t d n s z/, though /t/ can be realized as a velarized dental [t̪ǫ] in a particular style of speech.

The phonemic feature 'velar' covers the range of articulation from the postpalatal tongue position in the vicinity of front vowels to the mid velar in the vicinity of back vowels; in Swahili it also includes the postvelar articulation of /k g/ as [q ɢ] occurring in a particular style of speech.

As for the phonemic feature 'palatal', English /c ɟ/ and Swahili /c/ are actually alveolo-palatal affricates, consisting of the postalveolar stops [t̲], [d̲] in the on-set and the groove-sibilants [š], [ž] articulated with the apex or the blade of the tongue facing both the alveolar ridge and the front of the palate. Swahili /ɟ/ is articulated as [d̲ž] only after tautosyllabic nasal /n/; elsewhere it is realized as an implosive palatal stop. The implosive articulation is also characteristic of the other Swahili voiced stops /b d g/, except after nasal. Whereas such phonetically important differences are not reflected on the phonemic level, the structure of the allophonic systems of the two languages implies the interpretation of some phonetic features which they have in common as phonemic in one language and non-phonemic in the other, e.g., aspiration of the voiceless stops which occur in prevocalic initial position in English for /p t k/, but not for /c/. In cases like this the switch from one language to another would not create major difficulties to the speakers of either Swahili or English, though they would have to redistribute [p^h], [t^h], [k^h] and Swahili speakers would have to overlook the contrast between [c^h] : [c] and avoid transferring their aspirate [c^h] to the initial prevocalic position in English.

Whereas a Swahili speaker is not likely to have trouble avoiding the use of some Swahili sounds which do not occur in English, like [x] as an allophone of /h/, he will be prone to transfer his implosive articulation of /b d g/ to any environment but the post-nasal position in English. On the other hand, since /ŋ/ does not occur in English in the environments where it contrasts with /n/ in Swahili, but frequently appears in final position in alternation with [ŋg], e.g., *long* [ŋ]: *longer* [ŋg], the Swahili speaker will tend to carry over the velar stop in final position after [ŋ].

The allophones of /l/ and /r/ perhaps give the native speaker of Swahili the greatest difficulties in reinterpreting his own phonemes: though the standard Swahili /l/ is a plain alveolar lateral, many speakers are also familiar with the so-called 'dark', velarized [ɫ] which is used in a definite style of speech in Arabic loanwords (specifically in *allah*); in trying to distinguish the two allophonic variants of English /l/ these speakers will tend to substitute their too strongly velarized [ɫ] for the so-called English 'dark' *l*. As for /r/, since it is realized as an alveolar trill in Swahili, they will have to learn to produce an altogether new sound with a very complex behavior in post-vocalic position. On the contrary, the pronunciation of [ž] as a voiced counterpart of [š] does not create any difficulty for a Swahili speaker, since he is familiar with its articulation in the release of /ɟ/ in post-nasal position, besides dialectal pronunciations of /ɟ/ as [ž].

A speaker of English learning Swahili may be expected to find it difficult:

(a) to distribute initial aspiration correctly in order to contrast /p t c k/ and /p^h t^h c^h k^h/;

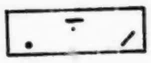
(b) to avoid using his 'dark' l in final and most preconsonantal positions;

(c) to avoid coloring the vowel preceding /r/ and to realize /r/ as an alveolar trill in all environments;

(d) to pronounce /b d ɟ g/ as implosive stops practically everywhere except after tautosyllabic nasals;

(e) to learn new sounds like [ɣ], [x] (as an allophone of /h/, e.g., in khalifa 'caliph')[3].

4.1.3. Suprasegmental phonemes

As regards suprasegmental phonemes, the contrast between the multiple stress patterns of English and the almost complete fixity of stress in Swahili is likely to lead the speakers of both languages into some difficulties, especially in longer words. As for pitch contours, Swahili speakers will tend to carry over their intonation patterns into English, using a descending contour of the type 321 (the numbers indicating decreasing levels of pitch) instead of the usual 231 shape of the English contour. On the other hand, a native speaker of English will be prone to overstress for emphasis, whereas in Swahili he is expected to raise the pitch and to lengthen the vowel of the penultimate syllable, e.g., in zamani [za"mɑ̟ː·nɪ]  'long, long ago!'

4.2. Grammar

4.2.1. Structural signals

As regards the structural signals involved in Swahili and English grammar, it is obvious that the dominant signals are distinctly different in the two languages. Whereas word-order and intonation presumably take the upper places in the order of dominance in English, inflection, essentially characterized by concord, appears in the top position in the Swahili hierarchy of structural signals. Though word-order may rank second in importance in Swahili, it shows a certain amount of flexibility which English does not admit, e.g., in the syntactic pattern:

$\boxed{\text{subject + verb + indirect object + direct object}}$

Juma alimpa baba kitabu 'Juma gave father a book'
T-----I.O.   D.O.

Juma alimpa kitabu baba yako 'Juma gave your father a book'
T----D.O.---------I.O.

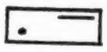
Juma alimpa baba yako kitabu kizuri 'Juma gave your father a nice book'
T--------I.O.   D.O.

—in which, for mere reasons of euphony, Swahili places the object which shows the smaller number of syllables in first position after the verb. Such a rhythmical rule can only apply without danger of misunderstanding because the morphological signal {m} in the object slot of the verbal form clearly marks the person to whom the gift is bestowed, i.e., only this redundant marking of the indirect object makes the flexibility of the construction possible.

The function of prosodic features is also considerably different in English and Swahili:

(a) in Swahili, only the pitch contrast in the terminal of a descending contour marks the difference between a plain statement and a yes-or-no question, e.g., *wamesimama mlangoni*—with high/low terminal /↓/ 'they are standing at the door', versus *wamesimama mlangoni*—with mid/high falling terminal /↑/ 'are they standing at the door?', whereas in English, the transformation of a statement into a yes-or-no question typically entails a change in word-order;

(b) English uses stress as a marker of lexical contrasts involving different parts of speech in such minimal pairs as *import* (noun, with stress on the first syllable) versus *import* (verb, with stress on the final syllable). Stress can also be correlated with the presence of a /+/ juncture, e.g., in *green house* /grîn+háus/ versus *greenhouse* /grínhàus/. Swahili only exceptionally resorts to stress to establish lexical distinctions, e.g., in the minimal pair *barabara* (noun, with stress on the penultimate) 'highway', versus *barabara* (invariable, with stress on the second syllable) 'exactly', and whereas the pattern modifier + center is uncommon in Swahili compounds, contrasts like *ina ua* /ína+úa/ 'it has a backyard': *inaua* /inaúa/ 'it kills' occur but scarcely;

(c) whereas emphatic stress only entails a limited modification of the tone pattern in English, shift of stress with increase in pitch level and vowel length can be used as a characteristic augmentative signal in Swahili, e.g., in *kule*! [ku'lɛ̞:·]  'far away, way over there!', versus *kule* ['ku·lɛ̞] 'there'.

As for function words, the considerable differences in usage between English and Swahili are obvious in such areas as the use of prepositions, e.g.,

(1) to introduce an indirect object, e.g., *mwalimu alimwandikia barua baba yangu* 'the teacher wrote a letter to my father', in which the applicative verb appears with the pronominal class-concord {m} in the object slot, controlled by the Swahili reflex of the (English) indirect object--*baba yangu*;

(2) in prepositional phrases acting as complement:

   (a) with separable verbs like 'look at', 'listen to', 'wait for', etc., e.g.,

      mtazame mikono 'look at his hands' (literally, 'him (as to) the hands');

      nisikilize 'listen to me';

      tulikungojea 'we waited for you';

   where the Swahili reflex of the English prepositional phrase fills the object slot of the relevant Swahili verb[4];

   (b) with adjectives like 'afraid (of)', 'angry (with)', 'good (for)', e.g.,

      ametukasirikia 'she has been angry with us';

      ile dawa haikufai 'this medicine is not good for you';

   where Swahili resorts to verbal forms as substitute for English adjectives used as predicates;

(3) to mark:

- (a) *possession*: where English has a restricted option between inflection and function words, Swahili compulsorily resorts to complexes with the connective particle {a}, e.g., *nguo za Ali* 'Ali's clothes' ('the clothes of Ali'). Class-concord also contrasts here with the invariable form of the preposition in English, e.g., *visu vya mpishi* 'the knives of the cook'; *madirisha ya chumba* 'the windows of the room';
- (b) *location*: only function words are available in English where Swahili (1) derives locatives in -*ni*, and (2) resorts to special class-concords to express definite spatial connotations, e.g., *nyumbani mwangu* 'inside my house'; *nyumbani pangu* 'at my house'; *wamerudi shambani kule* 'they are back from that field (over there)'. In other cases, however, Swahili has to use complexes with the connective particle {a}, like *juu ya* 'on', *nyuma ya* 'behind', *mbele ya* 'before', etc.

Furthermore, English prepositional phrases may correspond to Swahili:

(1) mere nominal forms or noun phrases, e.g., *nilifika pale saa tisa* 'I arrived there at 3:00 p.m.'; *tutaweka pipa kitako* 'we will set the barrel on its end' (: *tako* 'seat, base');

(2) complexes with *kwa*, e.g., *utaazima nyundo kwa Kassim* 'you will borrow a hammer from Kassim'; *amekosa kwa ujinga* 'he has failed through stupidity'.

4.2.2. *Swahili as the target language*

The following grammatical features of Swahili may be reckoned among the most troublesome to a native speaker of English:

- (a) agglutination, especially in the complex structure of the verbal forms;
- (b) redundancy in the class-concord system, with distinctive morphological signals according to the controlled parts of speech, i.e., nominal and pronominal concords with their specific distribution patterns, e.g., *ng'ombe zangu wawili*

wamekufa 'my two cows have perished' (with the pronominal concord of the {n} class in the possessive *zangu* with the plural name of animal *ng'ombe*, but the nominal and pronominal concord {wa} of class 2 for the plural of living beings with the (numeral) adjective -*wili* and in the subject slot of the verbal form);

(c) absence in English of a grammatical device that has a high functional load in Swahili, e.g., the locative constructions;

(d) complete discrepancy between the structural patterns of the two languages, namely:

(1) *in clause structure*, e.g., mere juxtaposition corresponding in Swahili to an English dependent clause with a subordinating conjunction as clause introducer, especially in the case of 'when' and 'if' clauses, e.g., *tulipoona mamba tuliogopa sana* 'when we saw the crocodile, we were very much afraid', in which the referential relative -*po*- assumes the function of the English conjunction *when* in assigning to the two situations their respective place in the relevant time dimension ({li} = past); *ukiangalia vizuri utauona mlima kwa mbali* 'if you look carefully you will see the mountain in the distance', in which the {ki} tense of the first verb marks the simultaneity and interdependence of the two processes.

Relative clauses are also likely to cause great difficulty in this respect, since the function of clause introducer assumed by the relative pronoun in English devolves in Swahili upon the pronominal concord controlled by the antecedent plus the referential particle {o} occurring in a definite slot of the verbal form.

(2) *in phrase structure*, e.g., especially in prepositional phrases (cf. 4.2.1) and in subordinate constructions of the type center-modifier in which the attributive modifier is verbal--in the participle--with a primary auxiliary as center: in the simple tenses, only definite Swahili tense-markers correspond to English compound tenses expressing

'current relevance' (*have* + past participle) and 'limited duration' (*be* + *-ing*), whereas a derivational process substitutes for the passive with *be* + [past] participle[5].

However, mastering the contextual distribution pattern of the much more precise connotations of the Swahili compound tenses will be a major difficulty for the native speaker of English learning Swahili.

(3) *in grammatical categories*, e.g., the morphologically integrated negative conjugation of Swahili contrasted with the syntactic pattern with auxiliaries of English.

(e) occurrence in Swahili of several devices, possibly with multiple choice between patterns, to render definite English parts of speech, or grammatical or semantic categories, e.g., the Swahili correspondents of English adjectives: whereas English is rich in adjectives, Swahili has only a limited number of them, classified either as long-series nominals (i.e., taking the relevant class-concords) or as invariables; therefore, in many cases, the following patterns act as substitutes for English adjectives:

(1) complexes of the type:

pronominal concord + {a} + complement (cf. 2.5.3.1), e.g.,

nchi ya ajabu 'a wonderful country' (literally, 'of wonder');

siku ya upepo mwingi 'a windy day' (literally, 'of much wind');

mahali pa kuoga 'a bathing place';

(2) phrases with:

pronominal concord + {eɲe} + complement (cf. 2.4.3.6), e.g.,

watoto wenye afya 'healthy children';

(3) verbal forms in the relative mode, e.g.,

maji yanayochemka 'boiling water';

jibu lililo kweli 'a truthful answer' (literally, 'which is truth');

taabu isiyo lazima 'unnecessary trouble' (literally, 'which is not necessity').

As appears from the above examples, the English -ing forms which function as adjectives are usually rendered by complexes with the connective {a} plus the corresponding Swahili infinitive, or by relative forms. When functioning as nouns, they plainly correspond to Swahili infinitives, e.g., kulima shamba kunaleta jasho 'ploughing a field brings sweat'; after prepositions, they are translated by infinitives preceded by complexes with the connective {a}, e.g., jifunza kwa kutenda 'learn by doing'; bila ya kusema naye 'without speaking to him'; baada ya kushuka pwani 'after disembarking (on the shore)'. They also correspond to Swahili infinitives:

(1) after verbs marking the beginning, the continuation, or the end of a process, e.g.,

wanafunzi wameanza kusoma vitabu vipya 'the pupils have started reading new books';

haachi kujaribu 'he keeps on trying' (literally, 'does not leave off');

amekwisha kuandika barua 'he has finished writing letters';

(2) after verbs meaning 'to like', 'to enjoy' and verbal phrases like 'it is no use', e.g.,

twapenda kucheza mpira 'we enjoy playing football';

hakuna faida kungoja 'it is no use waiting';

but after siwezi kujizuia translating 'I can't help' the subjunctive is used, whereas the {ki} tense appears after verbs of perception, e.g.,

sikuweza kujizuia nisilie 'I could not help crying'

ulisikia kengele ikilia? 'did you hear the bell ringing?'

hatukumwona paka akila ndege 'we did not see the cat eating the bird'.

Another typical example of multiple possibilities of translation is provided by the modal auxiliaries: whereas the concepts of uncertainty, unreality or improbability are expressed by definite tense-markers, the following devices are also resorted to in simple sentences, e.g., to translate may:

(1) the quasi-verbal complexes with the associative particle {na}, plus ruhusa 'permission', e.g., una ruhusa kwenda kulala 'you may retire' (literally, 'go and sleep');

(2) the invariable labda, plus the {ta} tense of the relevant verb, e.g., labda mvua itapiga leo 'it may rain today';

(3) kunradhi (literally, 'excuse me'), plus the subjunctive of the relevant verb, e.g., kunradhi niambie jina lako? 'may I ask your name?'

Similarly, must or have (got) to are translated by lazima (possibly preceded by ni) '(it is a) necessity', plus the subjunctive of the relevant verb, e.g.,

lazima usifanye kelele 'you must not make a noise';
ni lazima upike viazi? 'do you have to cook potatoes?'

As a matter of fact, the grammatical features of the up-country Swahili dialect spoken by expatriate settlers confirm the evidence of structural contrasts: the concord system is oversimplified; the only usual tense-markers are {na}, {li} and {ta}--corresponding to a purely temporal distinction between present, past and future; as substitute for the -nge- and -ngali- tenses, 'if' sentences introduced by the invariable kama are used as a rule; relative verbal forms seldom occur; hapana ('there is not') serves as a substitute for practically all negative forms, etc.

4.2.3. English as the target language

The native speaker of Swahili learning English will be faced with similar problems resulting from the structural contrasts between his mother tongue and the target language of his study. Difficulties will appear on various levels: sentence structure, phrase structure, parts of speech, compulsory grammatical and semantic categories; they will be of various types depending on the absence of a definite pattern or category in either language, the difference in structural pattern between the two languages, or the use of several devices in one language to reflect one pattern or category of the other, with the multiple choice this may imply in the target language. From the problems already described, it is obvious that some of the main difficulties the Swahili speaker will have to cope with in English are:

(a) *on the syntactic level*:

(1) *in clause structure*: more rigid word-order; interrogative, negative and relative clauses; use of the proper clause introducer, in view of the scarcity of conjunctions in Swahili and the use in Swahili of verbal forms corresponding to English subordinate clauses with a conjunction as introducer;

(2) *in phrase structure*: learning several types of $\boxed{\text{center}}\boxed{\text{modifier}}$ subordinate structures which do not occur in Swahili, e.g., adverbial modifiers with verbs (*get up*, *slow down*, *put on*, etc.); verbal modifiers with verbs, i.e., auxiliary constructions, etc.; marking the relation between center and modifier by word-order, e.g., in *blue colored* : *colored blue*, etc.; using prepositional phrases, e.g., attributively with verbs and adjectives (*ask for some milk*, *tired of traveling*).

(b) *on the morphological level*:

(1) *in parts of speech*: using function words properly, especially prepositions and such determiners as the articles; finding the suitable English equivalents to the various Swahili patterns, e.g., corresponding to adverbs (locatives; nominals with the class concords *ki*-, *vi*- or *u*-, like *kifalme* 'regally', *vizuri* 'nicely, fine', *upya* 'anew'; complexes with *kwa* like *kwa haraka* 'hurriedly'; ideophones; etc.);

(2) *in grammatical categories*: becoming familiar with the category of gender; mastering the English distribution of forms marking number (including such aberrant cases as formally singular forms controlling plural concords, and vice-versa, e.g., *people*, *United States*); using the -*ing* forms in the proper constructions, versus the infinitive or finite verbal forms, etc.

(c) *on the semantic level*: mastering the English distribution of modal auxiliaries and the differences in meaning of English past tenses.

Moreover, the Swahili speaker will also find it difficult to master:

(a) the proper use of the English verb-substitute *do* and of the auxiliaries as echo-substitutes in tag-questions and answers to yes-or-no questions;

(b) the distribution of the reflexive pronoun which partly corresponds to the Swahili reflexive {ɟi} morpheme occurring in the object slot of the verb, e.g., *tulijiuliza* 'we asked ourselves', and partly reflects the complex pronominal morpheme -*enyewe*, e.g., *tutaandika barua hii wenyewe* 'we will write this letter ourselves', as well as the phrase *peke* + {i} concord + connective particle {a} + possessive stem, e.g., *tutafanya kazi peke yetu* 'we will do the job (by) ourselves';

(c) the degrees of comparison of the adjective, for which Swahili has no corresponding forms (*kuliko*--literally, 'where there is'--being commonly used to introduce the conjunctional phrase modifying the adjective, e.g., *shamba lake ni kubwa kuliko lako, lakini langu ni kubwa kuliko yote* 'his plantation is larger than yours, but mine is the largest of all').

4.3. Vocabulary

In the lexical field, the main difficulty of native speakers of Swahili learning English as well as of native speakers of English learning Swahili will consist in becoming fully aware of the differences of semantic content between apparently corresponding words of the two languages, e.g., in Swahili, words for limbs, *mkono* 'arm' and *mguu* 'leg', which also apply more specifically to the 'hand' and the 'foot'. The lack of technical vocabulary in certain fields entails the use of long periphrastic expressions in Swahili, whereas its Moslem and African cultural background makes it especially hard to describe some concepts accurately in precise English terms. Differences of organization in the derivational systems of English and Swahili also lead to discrepancies in word-formation, e.g., where English derives nouns of agent from verbal stems with the suffix -*er*, Swahili commonly uses compounds consisting of a deverbative noun plus the relevant objective modifier, e.g., *mfanya kazi* 'worker'. On the other hand, the flexibility of Swahili verbal derivation has only partial equivalents in English, e.g., the prefix *un-* often corresponding to the conversive suffix {O} in cases like *kunja* 'fold' : *kunjua* 'unfold'. Ordinarily, however, English has to resort to different lexical items or to periphrastic phrases to express the semantic connotations added to the Swahili verbal root or theme by its derivational affixes.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The only handbook for the study of English designed for Swahili-speaking students is *Jifunze Kiingereza* (Teach Yourself English) by D.V. Perrott (London, The English Universities Press, 1958).

Currently, efforts are being made in Tanzania and Kenya to prepare teaching materials with due regard for the structural differences between Swahili and English. An outline of such structural contrasts in grammar is given by P. Hill in his article 'Some notes on structural differences between English and Swahili', in *Swahili*, Vol. 35, No. 1 (1965), pp. 24-7.

NOTES

1. Unless he hears /æ/ as more fronted and higher than [a̞] and includes it in the /e/ phoneme, as being closer to its [ɛ̝] allophone.

2. The difference in the position of /w/ in the two diagrams emphasizes bilabial articulation as the most characteristic phonemic feature of Swahili /w/. This is confirmed on the articulatory level by its realization with an often more marked protrusion and rounding of the lips, as well as by the use by some speakers of a bilabial voiced fricative [β],

mostly in free variation with [w], e.g., in *watu* ['βa̱:tʊ] 'people', *gawa* ['ɡa̱:βɑ̟] 'divide'.

3. Instead of articulating [ɲ] with the middle part of the tongue, speakers of English will tend to use the tip of the tongue, producing an apical [n] with a palatalized release [^{j}], but the acoustic difference between [ɲ] and [n^{j}] will be practically negligible. As a matter of fact, those who pronounce *annual* ['æ¦ɲɨl] will actually produce the Swahili sound.

4. In some cases, the prepositional phrase may, however, correspond to a Swahili complex with the connective particle {na}, e.g., *sema na ndugu yake* 'talk to his brother'.

5. Though English shows a similar pattern in 'I was given a book' (*nilipewa kitabu*), the commonly used passive of the applicative will undoubtedly be puzzling to a native speaker of English in cases like *mwana alitupiwa mawe*, literally, 'the child was thrown at stones'.

5. LITERATURE

In comparison with the literature of the other African cultures of East Africa, Swahili literature is exceptionally rich. Whereas prose was until recently practically restricted to utilitarian purposes, the traditional art of verbal expression in poetry has produced an overwhelming number of valuable works. This tradition, of Arabic origin, is essentially of Islamic inspiration and has been cultivated as a source of prestige among the true Swahilis of the coast, who like to evince a thorough knowledge of their Moslem religion and cultural heritage. The poetry inspired by this reverent attitude towards the Islamic way of life and its prominent role in the historical past of the East Coast of Africa can be divided into different groups according to its form and content: it can be epical, lyrical or didactic, as well as religious or secular. Religious epics relate the current stories of the life of the Prophet, his family and friends, or other religious legends, whereas non-religious epic poetry records the glories of heroes of the past and celebrates their brilliant feats of arms. Non-epical poetry consists either of religious verse on such themes as the frailty and futility of human achievement or the blissful rewards or harsh punishments to be expected in the next world, or of love-songs, serenades, songs of praise and other 'circumstantial rhymes'. Many of the poems were composed to be sung or recited in a definite social setting, and they were only written down after meeting with approval in this specific environment. This is especially true of the _utendi_ verse-form, which is used for epic or heroic poetry as well as for shorter homiletic and didactic materials. It has especially flourished in the northern part of the Swahili linguistic territory, where Lamu appears to be the cradle of Swahili poetry. Its dialect--_kiAmu_--indeed became the conventional language of early religious poetry.

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The Northern Swahili word utendi (Standard Swahili utenzi) means 'activity', specifically 'composition', and applies accordingly rather to a traditional type of poetical work than to its specific content, so that it has been used in recent years for the long poem relating the Swahili legend of Liongo as well as for the rhymed description of the Maji-Maji revolt (1905). The typical utendi-verse consists of four vipande or 'sections', of which the first three rhyme together whereas the fourth shows the rhyme which is carried throughout the poem; it seems to have originated in the rhyming prose designed for recitation of the Maghazi legendary literature. Among the longer tendi, the best-known are perhaps the story of Li(y)ongo and al-Inkishafi. Li(y)ongo is the legendary hero of the Swahili whose struggle with his cousin Daud Mringwari for rulership in Shagga (presumably near Pate) under conflicting systems of inheritance is the central theme of the epic. It also contains a highly dramatized treatment of the 'father-and-son' motif as it appears in the Germanic Balder-myth, Líyongo being treacherously killed by his son with a copper dagger, the only weapon able to strike him mortally. Al-Inkishafi (probably meaning 'self-examination') sketches a rather gloomy picture of the downfall of the once so prosperous Pate and derives a warning about the transitoriness of human riches from this lesson of history. W. Hichens[1] has given a rather flowery English rendition of the terse Swahili verse, but some passages provide vivid pictures of the blossoming and decay of a brilliant courtly life, e.g.,

(stanza 40)

The men's halls ever hummed with chatter gay;
The harem chambers rang with laughter's joy;
With zest of slave and workman at employ,
Their merriments and pleasure waxed amain...

(stanza 49)

Their mansions bright with empty echoes ring.
High in the halls the fluttering night-bats cling.

Thou hear'st no outcry; no sweet murmuring.
The spiders, o'er the couches, spin their skein.
(stanza 50)
Where once in wall-niches the porcelain stood,
Now wildling birds nestle the fledgling brood;
The omened owl hoots 'midst the solitude,
And, faring there, strange wild fowl make complain...

The didactic tendi contain interesting data on Swahili everyday life, especially the Advice of Mwana Kupona upon the Wifely Duty[2], in which the wife of the Sheikh of Siu gives religious and ethical instruction as well as practical hints to her daughter as to her behavior in her household. Religious tendi like the anonymous epic of Ras-al-Ghali, the Utenzi wa Kutawafu Nabii[3], the Utenzi wa Vita vya Uhud[4], the Utenzi wa Abdirrahmani na Sufiyani[5], or the Maulid of Barzanji of Saiyid Mansab relate episodes of the life of the Prophet and his companions in compliance with Islamic tradition. In religious education, the Arabic alphabet which was used for writing down the poems also served as a basis for acrostic poems like Dura Mandhuma, or 'Strung Pearls'[6], in which each of the first three vipande of each verse begins with the relevant letter of the Arabic alphabet, with the vowel-signs fatha (for a), kasra (for i) and ḍamma (for u) successively. Historical events are also described in tendi, e.g., the revolt of Muhammad bin Abdallah bin Mbarak Bakhashweini, known as al-Akida, against the sultan of Zanzibar (1874) and his resistance in Fort Jesus in Mombasa (1875), described by Sheikh Mbarak Ali al-Hinawy. Sometimes the event under consideration may belong to a distant legendary past, like the battle near Tabuk in the epic of Heraklios[7], which gives a vivid description, fraught with religious implication, of an episode of the struggle of Islam against Byzantium. It is translated from an Arabic original, belonging to the so-called Maghazi-literature. Sometimes recent colonial history is dramatized, as in the Utenzi wa Vita vya WaDachi Kutamalaki Mrima 1307 A.H.[8] or the Utenzi wa Vita vya Maji-Maji[9]. However, up to the present day, the primary aim of the utendi to convey normative practical knowledge of theological and ethical principles still prevails, and when the poet Shaaban Robert wanted to give such directions to a boy and a girl, he entitled the relevant poems Utenzi wa Adili and Utenzi wa Hati.[10] Beside the didactic utendi, Swahili uses a different type of poetry for less serious subjects, which Lyndon Harries describes as 'long-measure verse'. This verse normally consists of a single line divided by a kituo or caesura and ending with a rhyme which is carried throughout the whole poem. Most common in this type of poetry are the songs accompanying the gungu dance, a special ceremony taking place at marriage. The mavugo wedding-songs--so-called because buffalo-horns (mavugo) were beaten with a wooden rod to mark the rhythm--are characterized by the absence of rhyme and measure of vocal syllables; they may be the earliest type of indigenous Swahili songs we know. A great number of serenades and praise-songs have also been collected, like this Bow-Song associated with the Li(y)ongo tradition:

> 'Praise my bow with haft of the wild-vine, let it be
> dressed with oil and shine like glass.
> When first I set out I shot a snake through its throat,
> and I shot an elephant through its ear as it trumpeted.
> Then I shot a piebald crow and a duiker running away,
> and they tell me: Stand aside, son of Mbwasho, lay your
> weapons aside.'[11]

A popular verse-pattern borrowed from Arabic is the takhmis, in which each line is fifteen mizani or syllables long, with a kituo or caesura after the sixth syllable. The oldest takhmis known in Swahili was composed in the 18th century by Saiyid Abdallah bin Ali bin Nasir, the author of al-Inkishafi: it is essentially a homiletic poem about the code of honor of a nobleman, but it is connected with the Liyongo legend, as it refers to his captivity. Rhymed prayers appear also in takhmis-form, like the rain-prayer Dua ya Kuombea Mvua of the Kadhi of Zanzibar, Sheikh Muhyi'l-Din al-Waili (1798-1869).[12]

Owing much less to Arabic sources for its subject-matter than the utendi or the takhmis is the so-called Swahili quatrain. It is a couplet consisting of eight hemistichs, or vipande, of eight mizani each, with alternate rhyme. This metrical composition is particularly suited to topical and specific subjects, and it is currently used in heroic verse, love-poems, verse of lament and admonitory verse, as well as poems of wisdom, poems of petition to the Deity and poems of mutual reproof.[13] It is also found in the very interesting dialogue verse, some of which reflects actual debates or exchanges of messages between poets, like the so-called Forge Song, in which Muhammad bin Ahmad al-Mambassy warns his friend Suud bin Said al-Maamiry, who went to Zanzibar to urge the Sultan to recall the Governor of Fort Jesus in Mombasa, that he will have to keep on insisting to win his plea; to the seven stanzas of his friend, Suud answers in eleven, whose actual meaning is hidden in apparently innocuous instructions to his ship-captain. One of the best composers of quatrains is Muyaka bin Haji al-Ghassaniy (1776-1840), whose poems are closely connected with the background of political events in Mombasa under Mazrui rule.[14] Later poets have not adhered as faithfully as Muyaka to the strict rhyme pattern of the quatrain: Shaaban Robert, for example, would prefer to make all the first vipande of the four lines of one quatrain rhyme with all the second vipande of the four lines of the following one. Another way to link stanzas together is found in the mashairi ya nyoka--literally, 'snake-verses'--which repeat the penultimate kipande of the preceding stanza in the first kipande of the following one. Actually, Swahili versification sometimes indulges in various exercises in poetical acrobatics, like repeating the first, third and fifth vipande in reverse order as the second, fourth and sixth vipande, e.g.,

> Lakutenda situuze situuze lakutenda 'What to do don't ask us, don't ask us what to do'.
>
> Metufunda wanamize wanamize metufunda 'He has crushed us like shore-crabs, like shore-crabs he has crushed us'.

Kuwa punda tuizize tuizize kuwa punda 'To be pack-donkeys we refuse, we refuse to be pack-donkeys'.

Kwandika tapo tutenda hilo halipatikani 'To be saddled in packs for work, that is what will not be achieved'.

If such a type of mashairi ya takiriri may be of Persian origin, by way of Southern Arabia,[15] most of these poems are, however, genuine Swahili experimentation with verse and rhyme, but they reflect only an unimportant sideline of the keen interest in poetics, which is evidenced by K. Amri Abedi's Sheria za kutunga mashairi [Rules for Composing Poems], written as an introduction to an anthology of his poems (Diwani ya Amri).[16] Modern poets, while sometimes producing remarkable pieces in the traditional forms, showing how much alive Swahili poetic tradition still is in the cultural centers of the East Coast, will not often experiment with new forms. However, "a considerable difference appears between the songs and poems of earlier times which were composed according to their syllabic measure, and modern poems which are composed according to their tune", as Shaaban Robert states in his Hotuba juu ya Ushairi [Lecture on Poetry], regretfully adding: "This is no small loss in Swahili compositions..." He himself, the greatest Swahili poet of our time, has left us some beautiful compositions expressing his deep affection for his African homeland, its culture and its language, e.g., in his Almasi za Afrika [African diamonds]:[17]

One's mother's breast is the sweetest, however humble she be,
And thou, Swahili, my mother-tongue, art still the dearest to me.
My song spring forth from a welling heart, I offer this my plea,
That those who have not known thee may join in homage to thee:
One's mother's breast is the sweetest; no other so satisfies.
Spring forth, Swahili poesy, in a freshet that gives birth,
To a flood like sacred Zam Zam which refreshes Mecca's dearth,
Carry thy fertilizing stream to the uttermost ends of Earth,

> That those who have not known thee may understand thy worth.
> One's mother's breast is the sweetest; no other so satisfies.

But poetry is not the only literary means of expression cultivated by Swahilis in recent times. Prose, which was formerly largely confined to historiography, theology and other such subjects, has been successfully used by Shaaban Robert for essay writing.[18] However, the number of genuinely literary productions in prose is still very limited. In spite of their real merits, many works still indulge too much in didactic pursuits, and only a few, like the charming love-story Kurwa na Doto, a novel by Muhammad Saleh Farsy depicting life in a typical Zanzibar village, or the successful Swahili thriller Mzimu wa Watu wa Kale by Muhammad Said Abdulla, actually break with the long tradition of books for youth and school reading which have been produced in recent years under the sponsorship of the East-African Literature Bureau. These works fulfilled their useful task of supplying good Swahili textbooks for educational purposes, but only a few have real literary value, like Shaaban Robert's tales Kusadikika or Adili na Nduguze. Good examples of literary prose are rather to be found in biographical literature, like the Maisha ya Siti Binti Saad, Mwimbaji wa Unguja [Life of the Lady-Daughter of Saad, Singer of Zanzibar] by Shaaban Robert.[19] Most biographical writing has, however, more historical than literary interest, e.g., the celebrated Maisha ya Hamed bin Muhammed el Murjebi yaani Tippu Tip, dealing with the exploits of the famous Zanzibar slave-trader Tippu Tip.[20] The best historiographical work is perhaps the Habari za Wakilindi [Chronicle of the People of KiLindi] by Sheikh Abdallah bin Hemedi'l Ajjemy.[21] Written in 1895 in non-standardized Swahili, it contains some of the most beautiful passages in Swahili prose.

A minor form of literary prose which has been widely cultivated by the Swahilis is the aphorism. A large collection of these was published by W.E. Taylor in 1891 in his African Aphorisms and Saws from Swahililand. The use of proverbs, riddles and other sayings is still very much alive among the Swahilis, as is shown by the abundant examples gathered in Zanzibar by Sheikh Shaaban Farsi.[22] They illustrate many aspects of everyday life and belief and give expression to the wisdom and shrewdness of the Zanzibarites, as the following examples may show:

biashara haigombi 'trade does not quarrel' (the customer is always right);

jogoo la shamba haliwiki mjini 'the country rooster does not crow in town' (country bumpkins are usually laughed at by townsfolk);

maji ya kifuu ni bahari ya chungu 'the water in a coconut-shell is like an ocean to an ant';

nzi hatui juu ya damu ya simba 'the fly cannot settle on the lion's blood' (a riddle for 'fire');

kila kitu chageuka isipokuwa kitu kimoja tu 'everything is subject to change except only one thing' (i.e., one's tribe);

kupindua kiatu chini juu ni kumtukana Mungu 'to put a shoe upside down is to show disrespect to God' (a local superstition).

There is also a large amount of government-inspired educational material, mostly translations of current school-literature. Much of this is the work of expatriates or missionaries, with the linguistic supervision of the East African Swahili Committee. Christian religious literature is also abundant: the first complete Swahili Bible was produced in 1891 in the kiMvita dialect of Mombasa, and further translations into other dialects as well as into basically kiUnguja Standard Swahili have appeared since.[23] Some passages of the Swahili Bible are of genuine literary beauty, e.g., in the Catholic version of the Gospels, by Father Loogman.

Recently an effort has been made to develop Swahili creative writing for the theater, but up to now only a few school-plays have been produced.[24]

However, while traditional forms remain in honor and new forms develop,[25] Swahili literature holds out great promises of further development and flourishing.

NOTES

1. Al-Inkishafi: The Soul's Awakening (London, The Sheldon Press, 1939), pp. 71, 81. For a more literal translation, cf. Lyndon Harries, Swahili Poetry (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1962), pp. 97, 99.

2. Published by Alice Werner and William Hichens (Medstead, Hampshire, Azania Press, 1934).

3. The Release of the Prophet, edited by J.W.T. Allen, with a translation by Roland Allen, as a supplement to the Journal of the East Africa Swahili Committee, No. 26, June, 1956.

4. The Epic of the Battle of Uhud, edited by Haji Chum and H.E. Lambert in the series Johari za kiSwahili, Vol. 3 (Dar es Salaam, 1962).

5. The History of the Abdurrahman, edited by Hemed Abdallah, with translation by Roland Allen and notes by J.W.T. Allen, in the series Johari za kiSwahili, Vol. 2 (Dar es Salaam, 1961).

6. Cf. Lyndon Harries, in Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, Vol. XV (1953), pp. 146-56.

7. Published with notes and a Dutch translation by Jan Knappert under the title Het Epos van Heraklios, een proeve van Swahili poëzie (Alkmaar, 1958).

8. The German Conquest of the Swahili Coast 1891 A.D., by Hemedi bin Abdallah bin Said bin Abdullah bin Masudi el Buhriy, with translation and notes by J.W.T. Allen in the series Johari za kiSwahili, Vol. 1 (Dar es Salaam, 1960).

9. The Story of the Maji-Maji Rebellion, by Abdul Karim bin Jamaliddini, with a historical introduction by Margaret Bates and a translation by W.H. Whiteley, published as supplement to the Journal of the East African Swahili Committee, No. 27, June, 1957.

10. Both published in his Pambo la Lugha [Ornaments of the Language] in The Bantu Treasury series, Vol. XI (Johannesburg, 1947), pp. 36-49 (English translation by L. Harries, in Swahili Poetry (Oxford, 1962), pp. 149-71).

11. Translated by Lyndon Harries, in Swahili Poetry (Oxford, 1962), p. 183.

12. Cf. Lyndon Harries, in African Studies, Vol. 2 (1943), pp. 59-67.

13. Cf. Lyndon Harries, 'The Swahili Quatrain' in Afrika und Übersee, Vol. XLI (1957), pp. 67-71.

14. Cf. the edition of W. Hichens, Diwani ya Muyaka (in The Bantu Treasury series, Vol. 4; Johannesburg, 1940).

15. Cf. Lyndon Harries, Swahili Poetry (Oxford, 1962), p. 254.

16. Edited with an 'Introductory Study' by H.E. Lambert (Kampala, 1954).

17. Published by himself with his own translation (Tanga, 1960), p. 43; a complete annotated edition of his work by J.W.T. Allen (Kampala) is in preparation.

18. Cf. his Kielezo cha Insha [Model Essays], published in The Bantu Treasury series, Vol. XIII (Johannesburg, 1954).

19. Published as a supplement to the Journal of the East African Swahili Committee, Vol. 28, No. 1, January, 1958.

20. Published with a 'Historical Introduction' by A. Smith and a translation by W.H. Whiteley as a supplement to the Journal of the East African Swahili Committee, Vol. 29, No. 1, January, 1959.

21. Published by J.W.T. Allen (Nairobi, 1962).

22. Swahili Sayings from Zanzibar. I: Proverbs, II: Riddles and Superstitions (Dar es Salaam, 1950).

23. The latest edition is Maandiko Matakatifu Ya Mungu Yanayoitwa Biblia: Maana Agano la Kale na Agano Jipva (London, British and Foreign Bible Society, 1960).

24. E.g., Nakupenda, lakini... [I Love you, But...], by Henry Kuria (Nairobi, 1957), Nimelogwa! Nisiwe na Mpenzi [I Have Been Bewitched! I Haven't Got a Lover], by Gerishan Ngugi (Dar es Salaam, 1961).

25. Valuable additional information on Swahili poetry--old and new--is given by J. Knappert in his 'Notes on Swahili Literature' in African Language Studies, Vol. VII (1966), pp. 126-59.

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